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MILITARY SECRETS GU.

A.V. KOZI V.M. BLACK-SHAVED

UNCONQUERED TRANSNISTRIUM

Lessons from the current conflict

UDC 94 tt BBK 63.3(2)64 22A C,

K59

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K59 Unconquered Transnistria. Lessons of military conflict / A.V. Kozlov, V.N. Black-shaven. - M. : Veche, 2015. - 288 p. : ill. - (Military secrets of the twentieth century).

15VM 978-5-4444-2656-2

Sign of information products 12+

The book has been prepared for a wide readership. The goal is to show the role of the 14th Guards Combined Arms Army of Russia in localizing the conflict in Transnistria. This must be done in connection with the potential for a new escalation of the conflict in Transnistria. Contemporary events in the east of Ukraine are a mirror image of what happened in the PMR in the early 1990s. Therefore, in order to better understand the essence of the confrontation in the Donsk and Lugansk regions and more accurately predict the possible consequences for Russia of the conflict in Ukraine, we should turn to the events of 20 years ago.

UDC 94 LBC 63.3(2)64

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FOREWORD

Who needs you, man, who needs you?

You hit the cerebellum with your palm. Was overloaded.

Someone needs your fist, who needs you? Andrei Voznesensky

The armed confrontation in Moldavia in the spring and summer of 1992 is commonly referred to as "mysterious." This is primarily due to attempts to please the political situation to hush up the role of the 14th Guards Combined Arms Army of Russia (14th Army, 14th OA), whose soldiers and officers, without the "leading and guiding" role of Moscow politicians, managed to maintain combat the ability to protect the civilian population of the deployment region and stop the armed phase of the bloody fratricidal conflict in the conditions of the army being pulled apart by "national apartments". Without exaggeration, the war in Transnistria is the last victory of the Soviet Armed Forces and the first battle won by the young Russian army. This is the very "terrible military secret".

In 1990, coverage of the fighting in Transnistria was not welcome for political reasons. For journalists, the department of educational work of the 14th army formulated a phrase with which they

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should have used, if necessary, to mention the events of 1992. It sounded like this: "From the first to the last day, the soldiers observed "armed neutrality", not allowing themselves to be drawn into the slaughter. This was one of the factors for ending the armed phase of the conflict." Short, clear, but not clear. Like, guess what the conversation is about! A similar approach to covering the role of the 14th Army is still practiced by many Russian media today.

Military commanders "recommended" journalists: until the recognition of the Pridnestrovian Moldavian Republic or until the withdrawal of Russian troops from the region, not to disclose the details of combat episodes involving Russian military personnel, not to name the participants in the armed confrontation.

A direct consequence of this "information policy" was a general misconception about the role of the 14th Army in the Transnistrian events. As a consequence, for example, the attribution of the servicemen of the 14th Army who died in 1992 to the Transnistrian armed formations: to the Republican Guard and the Ministry of State Security (MGB) of the PMR. Thus, the "White Book of the PMR" (M.: Vegpit, 2006) states: A.N. Zimanov, F.F. Chernavsky, D.S. Payreli, S.A. Digoran served in the Republican Guard, and N.P. Norin - in the PMR MGB. Is this fair in relation to the memory of the fallen in battle? Isn't it time to correct mistakes and abandon omissions and

"planned"

distortion?

Today the situation has changed radically. On June 27, 2014, Moldova signed an association agreement with the European Union, which provides for joining the EU free trade area. While waving the document, Moldovan Prime Minister Iurie Leanca could not but understand that by doing so he was finally pushing the Left Bank away. Here, not only political, but also economic mechanisms come into play. The latter, no doubt, will lead to the final separation of the PMR from Moldova and its recognition, at least, by the countries - economic partners. The process is irreversible. It's just a matter of time.

The irreversibility of the legitimization of Transnistria was the final impetus for the decision to publish this book.

What did "armed neutrality" actually consist of, what did it look like, what tasks did it allow to solve?

It is necessary to answer these and many other questions, firstly, in connection with the potential for a new escalation of the conflict in Transnistria. The Moldovan leadership, having taken yet another ill-considered step, may well, at the suggestion of American and European "friends", follow a forceful path similar to that in Eastern Ukraine.

Secondly, the current events in the east of Ukraine are a mirror image of the events in the PMR in the early 1990s. In order to better understand the essence of what is happening in the Donetsk and Lugansk regions, more precisely

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to predict the possible consequences for Russia of the conflict in Ukraine, it is also necessary to refer to the events of 20 years ago.

It is generally recognized that the roots of the Transnistrian confrontation go back to the pre-war years. Until 1940, the entire territory of Moldova from the Prut River to the Dniester, as well as part of the territory of the Odessa and Chernivtsi regions and the Serpent's Island, were occupied by Romania in 1918. For purely political reasons, the Moldavian Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, located on the left bank of the Dniester and which was part of Ukraine, was liquidated in 1940. Most of its regions were annexed to Bessarabia with the subsequent formation of the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic (MSSR).

Moldova lasted in this status until July 1990. It was then that the leadership of the MSSR decided on the "illegality" of the liberation of Bessarabia on June 28, 1940, and on the "illegality" of the formation of the MSSR. Thus, Moldova was recognized as an "occupied" part of the Romanian Kingdom.

Such an interpretation of the problem presented a choice: "either we had to recognize ourselves as part of the "occupied" territory, or return as an autonomous republic to Ukraine, or start building our own independent state" (the Bessarabian issue and the formation of the Pridnestrovian Moldavian Republic, Tiraspol, 1993).

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All the described events took place against the backdrop of the intensification of interethnic passions. Through the efforts of the then leadership of the Republic of Moldova, all the people of this fertile land were divided into people of the "first" and "second" grades. This division along national lines has taken the form of official policy. Under the threat of becoming "second-class" people, the multinational people of the Left Bank took the path of gaining independence. The key event in this direction was the proclamation on September 2, 1990 of the creation of the Pridnestrovian Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic (PMSSR) and the adoption of the Declaration of its sovereignty.

This step could not go unnoticed by the government of the Republic of Moldova. In order to "bring constitutional order", several actions were taken to intimidate the inhabitants of the Left Bank. They involved the forces of OPON (special police units) and "volunteers" (their backbone was made up of young people besotted with nationalist hysteria – an analogue of the Ukrainian "Right Sector"). Gradually, police actions turned into a real war, which, without exaggeration, can be called civil. The beginning of its countdown is March 1, 1992.

Armed confrontation first died down, then flared up again. Bloody battles with the use of artillery and heavy equipment took place in the areas of the city of Dubossary, the villages of Koshnitsa and Kocieri. IN

a series of armed clashes between the police, the regular army of the Republic of Moldova —

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on the one hand, and the guardsmen, territorial rescue detachments of Transnistria, as well as the Cossacks of Russia and Ukraine who came to their aid, on the other hand, the Bendery events should be singled out. They became the bloody apotheosis of the entire Transnistrian conflict.

The hostilities in Bender lasted from June 19 to July 31, 1992. During this period, the city was subjected to massive artillery shelling. The aviation of the Republic of Moldova carried out bombing attacks on the bridge across the Dniester. In Bendery itself, there were street battles with the use of heavy equipment: tanks, guns, anti-aircraft guns, armored personnel carriers.

As a result of the entry of units of the Moldovan army into Bendery, more than 400 residents of the city and its defenders were killed, several thousand were wounded, 1298 objects were burned, 166 families were left homeless. 1474 houses of the private sector and 4010 apartments were damaged, 25 houses burned down completely. Great damage was inflicted by the war on industrial facilities (G.P. Volovoy, Bloody Summer in Bendery. Bendery, 1993).

Day of the end of the battles for Bendery can be considered | August 1992. On that day, Russian peacekeepers entered the ruined city overflowing with human grief.

This is how the generally accepted history of the conflict looks in brief. But everything that concerns the participation in hostilities of the 14th Guards General

military army.

What was this association, what is its history?

The 14th Army was formed in October 1939 in the Leningrad Military District. She covered the border with Finland. Units and formations of the army took part in the Soviet-Finnish war of 1939-1940.

During the Great Patriotic War, the army was deployed in the Arctic and defended the Soviet-Norwegian and Soviet-Finnish sections of the border. She was part of the Northern, and then the Karelian fronts. The association defended the ice-free port of Murmansk and the northern section of the Kirov railway. Since November 1944, the army received the status of a separate one and remained in this capacity until the end of the war. In October 1945, the 14th separate army was disbanded.

In the postwar period, the 14th Army (second formation) was recreated on the basis of the 10th Guards Rifle Corps. This association was formed in the fall of 1942, led the troops during the liberation of Odessa (as part of the 5th Shock Army), in the battles for Budapest (as part of the 46th Army), and ended the Great Patriotic War as part of the 46th Army. Army of the 2nd Ukrainian Front in the battles for Vienna. At the end of the Great Patriotic War, the department of the 10th Guards Budapest Rifle Corps led the troops in the Odessa Military District. After the unification of the Odessa and Taurida military districts, it was deployed to the command of the 14th Guards Combined Arms Army.

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14th Guards Combined Arms Army (headquarters in Tiraspol) in the mid-80s. 20th century included three motorized rifle divisions, an anti-aircraft missile and two missile brigades, a separate helicopter regiment, a separate communications regiment, a cannon artillery regiment, a jet artillery regiment, a reconnaissance regiment, a radio engineering regiment, an air assault battalion, two chemical protection battalions, two electronic warfare battalions, an engineering regiment, an engineer-sapper battalion, a helicopter squadron (Historical reference of the OGRF in the PR of the Republic of Moldova. “Soldier of the Fatherland”, No. 17, 1999).

During the "parade of sovereignties" of the former Soviet republics, the 14th Army found itself in a very difficult geographical and political situation. Its formations and units were deployed on the territory of Ukraine, Moldova and the Pridnestrovian Moldavian Republic proclaimed in autumn 1990. All this led to the further development of events, which will be discussed in this book.

The publication is based on diary entries, documents from the personal archive of V.N. Chernobrivogo. Colonel Vyacheslav Nikolayevich Chernobriv, from June 1991 to July 1992 - Chief of Staff of the Missile Forces and Artillery, and from July 1992 to August 1997 - Head of the Missile Forces and Artillery of the 14th Army.

Previously, individual fragments of the diary were published with the permission of Vyacheslav Nikolayevich in the books of M.M. Bergman and V.L. Half. The full diary and a number of documents are published for the first time.

More than twenty years have passed, but we still will not name the names of some Russian officers, for reasons of their safety.

Doctor of Historical Sciences, Professor Colonel

A.V. Kozlov in 1994-2001 — correspondent, head of the editorial department of the newspaper of the 14th Army (Operational Group of Russian Forces in Transnistria) "Soldat of the Fatherland"; in 1999 — editor from the Russian Federation of the newspaper of the Joint Control Commission in the zone of the Transnistrian armed conflict "Peacemaker".

HOW THE LAW ON LANGUAGE DIVIDED MOLDOVA

The starting point of the conflict can be considered March 30, 1989. It was on this day that the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic (SC MSSR) submitted for nationwide discussion the bills "On the Status of the State Language of the MSSR" and "On the Functioning of Languages in territory of the MSSR. At the same time (March 1989), the Popular Front of the Republic of Moldova (PFM) was created, which was completely oriented towards Romania.

On August 31, the session of the Supreme Council of the MSSR adopted a law on the language, according to which only the Moldovan language was approved as the state language with a simultaneous transition to the Latin alphabet. It should be noted that there was no unity among the Moldovan people on the issues of translating the Moldovan language into the Latin script, giving the Russian language the status of state and international communication.

On April 27, 1990, the unionists (representatives of the Popular Front), contrary to the references to the tradition of the Moldavian Principality, achieved the approval of the blue-yellow-red tricolor as the flag of the Moldavian SSR.

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ra, similar to the Romanian one, but with the image of the coat of arms on it. As a new coat of arms of Moldova, a modified coat of arms was adopted, during the period of the occupation of Bessarabia granted by the Romanian king to the city

Chisinau. On June 5, 1990, the Supreme Council of the MSSR established a new name for the republic - the Republic of Moldova (RM). June 23

A declaration on the sovereignty of the USSR was adopted, in which it was established that the republic is a sovereign, single and indivisible state, and its laws have supremacy over the laws of the USSR. After the Popular Front came to power in Moldova, the Parliament of the Republic of Moldova approved the conclusion of the Commission of the Supreme Council on the political and legal assessment of the secret protocol to the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact dated August 23, 1939 and declared it invalid. He also declared illegal the formation of the MSSR in 1940 and decided to cancel the act on

the formation of the MSSR of August 2, 1940, since "on June 28, 1940, the USSR occupied Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina by force of arms against the will of the population of this region." Along the way, the conclusion also invalidated the Bucharest Peace Treaty of 1812, since, according to the commission, it was an act of "dismemberment of Bessarabia and Bukovina".

The Republic of Moldova itself recognized the fact that the left bank was never a part of modern Moldova. This statement of the Moldovan leadership was one of the trump cards used by the leadership

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Transnistria at the declaration of independence of the Pridnestrovian Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic. Moreover, at the 2nd Congress of the Popular Front of Moldova in July 1990, the unionists demanded that the state be renamed the Romanian Republic of Moldova.

Legislative actions of official Chisinau served as a powerful source for spontaneous actions of the population of Transnistria. The transition of the PFM from the position of Moldovanism to the position of Romanianism led to a fundamental change in the situation. He helped carry out ethnic mobilization in Transnistria on an anti-Romanian basis. It allowed not only to include ethnic Moldovans, dissatisfied with Romanization, in the leadership of the PMSSR, but also determined their participation in hostilities on the side of Transnistria. This was confirmed by the spontaneous political strikes that swept across the entire Left Bank.

From August 21 to September 22, 1989, rallies were held along the Left Bank (the total number of strikers was more than 200 thousand people) against the adopted laws. If Transnistria initially wanted a free economic zone to be created on its territory, and there was no talk of any separation, then later the situation began to change.

This is how Ion Druta, a classic of Moldovan literature, describes in the article "Traitors and Saviors of the Nation" in the newspaper "Moldova Suverane" what Moldova won and lost by adopting the Law on Languages in August 1989

ke: "By midnight, the second option was adopted, and on the same night, thanks to the second option, we lost Transnistria, remaining to this day a dismembered country, so much so that even the Pope of Rome at one of his audiences, thinking, sadly said: "Transnistria, Transnistria".

What followed was a brutal, bloody mystery war about which little is known. Who exactly and for what purpose provoked this bloodshed? What was behind it? What did this war cost us? How many young lives have we sacrificed? In any other civilized country, all this would have been investigated long ago, but in our country, due to some whimsical gambling, everyone turned out to be interested in not taking dirty linen out of the hut.

And here are the words of another Moldavian poet, Grigore Vieru, uttered by him on February 4, 1993: "... I personally am not particularly worried that the imperial forces have taken Transnistria from us, I am afraid that it will not be returned to us, because, having regained Transnistria, we will lose Bessarabia, or rather, we would move away or even completely lose the reunification with our motherland."

August 11 Tiraspol, in response to the creation of the Popular Front of the Republic of Moldova, creates its own organization - the United Council of Labor Collectives (UCTC).

On September 2, 1990, at the 2nd Extraordinary Congress of Deputies of all levels of Transnistria, there was a

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the creation of the Pridnestrovian Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic (PMSSR) was proclaimed and the Declaration on the sovereignty of the republic was adopted. Elections of the Provisional Supreme Soviet were held. Igor Nikolaevich Smirnov is elected its chairman. The TMSSR also adopts a law according to which three official languages are introduced on the territory of the TMSSR: Moldavian, Russian and Ukrainian.

Smirnov Igor Nikolaevich was born on October 23, 1941 in the Khabarovsk Territory. Russian father, Ukrainian mother. In 1959 he graduated from a vocational school in the city of Zlatoust. He began his career at a metallurgical plant. In 1959, he moved to the construction of the Yuzhelektromash plant in the city of Novaya Kakhovka. From 1963 to 1966 he served in the army. After being transferred to the reserve, he entered the evening department of the Odessa Construction Institute. In 1965, he transferred to the Zaporozhye Machine-Building Institute. Studied without interruption from work. Passed the positions: top-class universal turner, welder, grinder, planer of the highest level, deputy head of the shop, head of the shop, deputy chief engineer of the plant, deputy director of the plant for production. All the time he worked at the Yuzhelektromash plant. Member of the CPSU since 1963. In 1987 he became director of the Elektromash plant in Tiraspol. In April 1990 he was elected Chairman of the City Council, in September - Chairman of the Provisional Supreme

th Council of the PMSSR.

Marakutsa Grigory Stepanovich was born in 1942 in the village of Teya, Tiraspol region, MSSR. After graduating from a vocational school in 1961, he worked as a tractor and combine driver in the Karaganda region. He graduated from the Tselinograd Agricultural Institute in 1968. He worked in the leadership of a number of economic structures in Kazakhstan and Moldova. From 1981 to 1990 he was deputy chairman of the Kamensk district executive committee.

Andreeva Galina Stepanovna was born in 1945 in China, Russian, member of the CPSU. She worked as a plasterer, graduated from the Faculty of Law, worked as a lawyer at the Ural-cable factory, after moving to Tiraspol she worked as a lawyer at furniture factory No. 5 and a lawyer for the city executive committee.

On October 25, in connection with the sending of Moldovan volunteers to the city of Comrat (the capital of the compact settlement of the Gagauz in the south of Moldova), Pridnestrovie, at the request of the leadership of Gagauzia, sends teams of workers to help the Gagauz Republic.

On November 2, the Moldovan police for the first time used weapons against unarmed citizens of Transnistria. Valery Mitsul, Oleg Geletyuk, Vladimir Gotka were killed on the bridge across the Dniester River in the city of Dubossary and sixteen people were wounded.

The geographical position of this city is such that it is the center of Transnistria. By capturing it, Moldova would be able to cut off the northern regions from the southern ones. Dividing the TMSSR, Moldova destroyed in parts

to Transnistria.

On November 5, the Chairman of the Provisional Supreme Council of the PMSSR I.N. Smirnov with a demand to stop the escalation of tension and to withdraw all armed forces from the territory of the IMSSR, as well as to bring to justice the perpetrators of the Dubossary execution.

On November 30, Tiraspol proposed the principle of the federal construction of Moldova, consisting of: the Republic of Moldova, the Pridnestrovian Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic and the Gagauz Republic. Chisinau rejects this proposal.

On December 22, in exchange for the revision by the government and parliament of Moldova of their position on the national question, M.S. Gorbachev issues a Decree "On Measures to Normalize the Situation in the SSRM", which orders the dissolution of the Gagauz Republic and the Pridnestrovian Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic. The Popular Front of Moldova is celebrating its victory, and the complete weakening of the central government is felt everywhere.

Decree of the President of the USSR of December 22, 1990, according to Ion Druta, "was 80% prepared in Chisinau" and, according to Grigore Vieru, "in exchange for the abolition of two false republics."

On December 29, the Supreme Council of the USSR adopted a resolution on the Decree of the President of the USSR. It was decided to revise a number of provisions of the law on language, disband all volunteer and other detachments to assist the bodies of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, liquidate the Gagauz and Pridne

Strovskaia Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic.

On January 1, 1991, the government of the USSR ceased to transfer money to the budget of the USSR. In response, the Pridnestrovian Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic and the Gagauz Republic stopped deductions to the budget of the SSRM from] April,

On March 5, the SSRM Parliament transferred the executive supreme power from the Prime Minister of the Republic of Moldova, Valeriu Muravschi, to the President of the Republic of Moldova, Mircea Snegur. Speaking on television that day, Mircea Snegur said: "Moldova has no legal obligations to the current USSR. History does not know the document that legalized the inclusion of the MSSR created in Moscow into the Union.

On March 17, 1991, a referendum on the preservation of the USSR as a federal state was scheduled. In accordance with the new draft of the Union Treaty, an increase in the number of subjects of the Union was envisaged, which would be not only the union republics, but also the autonomies that were part of them. In this case, being a part of the renewed Union made it possible for Pridnestrovie to receive the same state status as the Republic of Moldova had. In accordance with the new Union Treaty, Pridnestrovie could receive a full status of a subject of the Union and, consequently, get out of

repairs to Chisinau.

I.N. Smirnov, G.S. Marakuts, as well as the leadership of Gagauzia during 1990-1991. had repeated informal meetings in Moscow with the Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR A.I. Lukyanov, who in every possible way supported and actually contributed to the proclamation and creation of new state formations on the territory of Moldova.

In this way, the Union Center tried to keep the republics within the USSR. The adoption of such an agreement automatically meant the secession of Transnistria and Gagauzia from Moldova. The legislative support of these plans was entrusted to the Soyuz deputy group, coordinator of which was A.I. Lukyanov. Deputy of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR from Moldova Yu.V. Blokhin on May 14, 1991 handed over to A.I. Lukyanov the resolution of the TMSSR "On the participation of Pridnestrovie in the preparation and signing of the Union Treaty." On this document, A.I. Lukyanov writes a resolution: "Comrade. Nishanov R.N., Shishov L.D. "It is necessary to develop a strategy for this participation, to propose options for resolving this issue," wrote Nezavisimaya Moldova on May 23, 1992. However, due to the failure of the coup attempt in August 1991, these plans were not destined to come true.

The leadership of Moldova decided not to take part in the referendum, which led to a new round of tension between the Pridnestrovian Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic, the Gagauz Republic and the Republic of Moldova, which decided to hold a referendum on their territories independently.

mo from Chisinau. Appeals to the republican authorities for consent to hold a referendum were unsuccessful.

March 10 Mircea Snegur sends an ultimatum to I.N. Smirnov demanding not to hold a referendum on the preservation of the USSR on the territory of the TMSSR.

On March 17, 1991, at the referendum, 80% of Transnistrian voters came to the polling stations. To participate in the referendum in the TMSSR, residents of the right-bank part also came

Moldova. 97% voted for the preservation of the USSR. No referendum was held in Moldova.

In June 1991 the Moldavian parliament adopted the law "On Citizenship of the Republic of Moldova". Relations between Chisinau and Tiraspol became even more tense. This law made it impossible to acquire dual citizenship. According to this law, residents of the republic who did not take Moldovan citizenship were prohibited from holding public, state and military posts. This immediately put the soldiers of the 14th Army and their families, and not only them, in an uncertain position.

Since most of the 14th Army was stationed on the territory of Transnistria, and 50% of the officers and 90% of warrant officers came from this region, many of them were ready to go over to the side of the PMR.

After the August putsch, I.N. Smirnov, A.Z. Volkova, V.M. Rylyakov and V.A. Zagryadsky took refuge on the territory of the headquarters of the 14th Army. August 19 guide

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The TMSSR (represented by the chairman of the OSTK and several deputies of the Supreme Soviet of the TMSSR) hurried and sent telegrams to Moscow in support of the gekachepists. Now each of them was charged by the Moldovan side on the fact of resistance to the fulfillment of the requirements of the Constitution of the Republic of Moldova. All of them faced up to 10 years in prison. They lived on the floor of the Combat Control Center, where sleeping places were prepared for them. They ate in the officers' canteen on the territory of the headquarters.

From the book of A.Z. Volkova: "Already on August 21, it became known about the operation "Nevod", because there were our supporters in Chisinau, including in law enforcement agencies. However, it was simply impossible to ensure the protection of the deputies, because our police then took a wait-and-see attitude. So the only way out was not to spend the night at home.

In the evening Rylyakov, Zagryadsky and I gathered in Smirnov's office, then went out into the courtyard of the House of Soviets. Igor Nikolaevich himself got behind the wheel of the Volga. The car, rushing through the streets, stopped at the checkpoint of the headquarters of the 14th army.

We went up to the commander's office. Lieutenant General Gennady Ivanovich Yakovlev welcomed us cordially. It turns out that he offered us shelter for a few days, or rather, nights. It was a courageous act on his part in this troubled time! Hiding the alleged gekachepists, he risked not

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only by position, but also by epaulettes in general, however, he did not doubt for a minute.

At dinner, conversations were, of course, about only one thing - about the State Emergency Committee. Not knowing then all the political background, they marveled at the ridiculously unprofessional actions of Vice President Yanaev and Minister of Defense Yazov, along with him. The fact that Lukyanov, who expressed certain sympathy for the Pridnestrovians, was involved in all this, of course, did not add optimism. We realized that it would be very difficult for our republic. How to act in the created extreme conditions, what course to choose?"

August 27, 1991 The Republic of Moldova announces its secession from the USSR.

On August 29, 1991, in Kyiv, the secret services of Moldova arrested and secretly deported to Chisinau the Chairman of the Supreme Council of the PMSSR I.N. Smirnov. It is noteworthy how this happened. At first, I.N. Smirnov received a message from the Assistant to the President of Ukraine that there was an agreement on his meeting with President L.M. Kravchuk. He was even booked a room in the hotel of the Supreme Council of Ukraine. And only after Smirnov was taken out of Ukraine, a protest from the Ukrainian Foreign Ministry followed.

At the same time, a whole group of deputies of Transnistria was arrested by the Moldovan police on the territory of the Left Bank and transferred to Moldovan prisons, in particular, G.F. Pologov and I.A. Milman.

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In response, on September 1, 1991, a women's strike committee was set up headed by Galina Andreeva. The women of Tiraspol blocked the railway to Moldova. There was only one demand - to release the arrested deputies to freedom.

On September 18, near the village of Ternovka, near the restaurant "Foishor", Moldovan policemen under the command of the Deputy Minister of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Moldova Konstantin Antocha attempted to take hostage the head of the Department of Internal Affairs of the TMSSR Yu.I. Grossul (former Deputy Minister of Internal Affairs of Moldova and dismissed from the bodies by the Minister of Internal Affairs of the USSR V.V. Bakatin for disagreeing with the actions of the latter during the transfer of weapons and equipment to the Moldovan police) in order to further incline him to work against TMSSR. During the incident, two people were injured (Prosul and Charyev), and Oleg Kostev was captured.

In September 1991, it was planned to sign an agreement between Russia and the Republic of Moldova. The Supreme Soviet of Russia, which was supposed to ratify the treaty, sent a deputy of the Supreme Soviet of the RSFSR S.A. Kravchenko, the main developer of the document. The condition for its signing was to be confirmation that the rights of the Russian-speaking population are not violated in Moldova.

The Moldovan authorities arranged a meeting with representatives of the Russian-speaking population in the village of Cocieri. Here

Representatives of the Popular Front from all over Moldova gathered. They assured S.A. Kravchenko that no one is oppressing them here, although it was at that time that I.N. Smirnov and other deputies of the Supreme Council of Moldova fired people from their jobs on the basis of nationality. Upon his return to Russia, Kravchenko said that everything was fine in Moldova. Nobody is oppressing anyone. And the discontent comes from a handful of "partocrats" and communists from large cities: Tiraspol, Dubossary...

But not everyone was convinced by the words of S.A. Kravchenko. Chairman of the Democratic Party of Russia N.I. went to Transnistria. Travkin. Nobody in Moldova was waiting for him. He saw what actually happened both in Transnistria and in Moldova.

Despite the fact that he was a deputy of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the RSFSR, that is, a person enjoying parliamentary immunity, on September 24, on the way from Dubossary to Rybnitsa, he was arrested by representatives of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Moldova, put on a plane and sent to Moscow. Travkin, returning to Moscow, spoke at a meeting of the Supreme Council of the RSFSR with an objective report, after which the ratification of the treaty became impossible.

On September 25, the Moldovan police carried out the second attack on the city of Dubossary. Again, weapons were used against civilians. Again there were wounded. Moldavian OMON, numbering up to 400 people, captured Dubossary and Grigoriopol. The confrontation between the inhabitants of the captured cities and the armed forces of the Republic of Moldova is approaching

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to a dangerous point. Volunteers from other regions of the republic arrived in Dubossary to help the TMSSR supporters. Moldova's actions caused a sharply negative reaction in Russia and in the world.

In September 1991, by order of the Chief of the General Staff of the USSR, most of the weapons and ammunition were removed from the cities of Ungheni (3-4 columns of 12-15 vehicles, under

the leadership of Colonel V.N. Chernobrivogo), Balti and Floreshty (5-6 columns of 20-25 vehicles each, led by colonels G.M. Akifiev, V.V. Popov, V.I. Nefedya, V.N. Frankin) to the territory of Ukraine (to the village of Zagnidkovo and the city of Pervomaisk, respectively).

In August-September, nuclear munitions were transported to missile complexes of operational tactical (OTR) and tactical missiles (TR), as well as to 152-mm guns from a mobile repair technical base in the city of Sarata (Ukraine) to the territory Russia.

On October 1, the results of the rail war on the left bank and the public outrage in the Republic of Moldova gave their results. In Moldova, the arrested deputies of Pridnestrovie I.N. Smirnov, V.L. Bodnar and G.N. Popov. From Grigoriopol and Dubossary the Moldovan riot police were withdrawn.

On November 14, the Republic of Moldova declared military camps, bases, weapons, vehicles, equipment and other property of the units of the Soviet Army to be its property. General appointed Minister of Defense

Ral Tudor Dabija.

Having announced the creation of national armed forces, the leadership of Moldova was at first in no hurry to force the issue of "privatization" of weapons, facilities and units of the former Soviet army. They seemed to figure out what they needed to keep at their disposal, and what to refuse. But this line of their behavior began to change dramatically at the beginning of 1992. On December 30, 1991, the representative of Moldova at the Minsk meeting of the heads of state of the CIS pointedly emphasized that Chisinau "will manage its armed forces independently" and does not intend to bind itself to any obligations to the CIS. At the beginning of 1992, the Moldavian authorities sharply tightened their demands on their share of weapons, equipment, ammunition, emergency supplies.

On December 1, 1991, a referendum was held on the left bank of the Dniester on the independence of the PMSSR and its renaming into the Pridnestrovian Moldavian Republic (PMR), and elections of the president of the newly formed republic were held. They became I.N. Smirnov. G.S. was elected Chairman of the Supreme Council of the PMR. Passion fruit.

On December 3, by the decision of the Supreme Council of the Transnistrian Republic, the Republican Directorate of Defense and Security was established. The commander of the 14th Army, Lieutenant General G.I. Yakovlev.

December 5 I.N. Smirnov issued Decree No. 5 "On the subordination of military units stationed on the territory

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territory of the Pridnestrovian Moldavian Republic. The decree opened the possibility for the servicemen of the 14th Army to go under the jurisdiction of the TMR.

January 8 The Supreme Council of the PMR adopts the laws "On Defense", "On General Military Duty and Military Service", "On the Status of Servicemen", and also amends the constitution of the republic. It introduces the concept of "Armed Forces of the Pridnestrovian Moldavian Republic".

On January 15, 1992, Decree of the President of the PMR No. 73 "On the organization of formations and units of the Armed Forces of the PMR" was issued. It refers to the possibility of accepting units of the former Soviet army under the jurisdiction of the republic.

December 26 I.N. Smirnov assumes the duties of Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of the Pridnestrovian Moldavian Republic.

Chairman of the Defense Committee of the PMR V.M. Rylyakov was instructed by February 15 to agree with the Ministry of Defense of Russia on the procedure and conditions for the transfer of weapons, equipment and property of troops stationed on the territory of the PMR to the TMR.

In December 1991, the 14th Army was disconnected from the warning system of the USSR Armed Forces. The army found itself surrounded by independent states on the territory of the self-proclaimed republic. In order to stick the 14th Army at least somewhere, M.S. Gorbachev included it in the mythical United Armed

forces of the CIS.

In the same month, by order of Lieutenant General G.I. Yakovlev, 482 machine guns were handed over to the local authorities, which belonged to the KGB department for the MSSR. What is this weapon? At the beginning of 1991, it was transferred to the warehouses of the 14th Army. Yakovlev, following the directive of the General Staff, on his own initiative handed over to Smirnov more "trunks" than failed.

At the same time, by order of G.I. Yakovlev, the organizational and mobilization department of the army, with the active participation of the chiefs of military branches and services, compiled a staffing table for the future Armed Forces of the PMR.

On December 5, the building of the ROVD in Grigoriopol was blocked. Women, under the command of G.S. Andreeva, demanded the removal of four police chiefs (the police commissioner and his deputies). The streets of the city were patrolled by soldiers of the Dniester battalion. At night, documents and weapons were taken from the ROVD to Chisinau. The police dispersed in all directions. Since there were no police or militia in the city for five days, the chairman of the city council S.F. Leontiev appointed himself acting head of the ROVD.

On December 6, the leadership of Moldova sent an appeal to the United Nations. It said: "The independence and integrity of the Republic of Moldova, the security and even the lives of its citizens are in danger. 14th Army of the Odessa Military District of the USSR Ministry of Defense under the command of General

Lieutenant G.I. Yakovlev, supporting the pro-war reactionary separatist forces of the left-bank regions of the Dniester, with the tacit consent of the central authorities of the USSR, including the Ministry of Defense, launched an open aggression against the Republic of Moldova, occupying the districts and cities of Grigoriopol, Dubasari, Slobozia, Tiraspol, Rybnitsa, distributing hundreds of weapons to extremist elements, including criminals, forming, on the instructions of the commander of the Odessa Military District, Colonel General I.S. Morozov shock detachments of the ROSM type, MTO, the Dniester battalion.

There is reason to believe that this decision was agreed with the USSR Ministry of Defense. The above groups terrorize the civilian population, resorting to blackmail, dismissal from work, beatings, and threats to set houses on fire. In Moldova, as such, the establishment of a military dictatorship began through a putsch of generals who command military districts and subdivisions of the USSR Ministry of Defense.

The separatist forces once again showed their true colors during the putsch in Moscow on August 19-21, 1991, when they made statements in support of it, made decisions and took actions to implement the putsch.

The efforts made by the Parliament, the President and the Government of the Republic of Moldova to resolve the conflict by political means artificially

created by the communist pro-imperial forces, both in the Republic of Moldova and abroad, were constantly undermined by these forces, which never kept their commitments. In response to the measures taken by the leadership of the republic to suppress putschist actions in

period August 19-21 of this year. separatist forces, supported by units of the Soviet army stationed on the territory of Moldova, blocked the railway lines.

At the same time, some political circles and mass media of the USSR and Russia launched a campaign in support of the reactionary coup forces operating in the Republic of Moldova under the guise of defending human rights and the rights of national minorities.

In order to avoid all sorts of conflicts, the leadership of the Republic of Moldova agreed to sign on October 1, 1991, the Conciliation Protocol on the stabilization of the situation in some settlements on the left bank of the Dniester, which was also signed by representatives of the Russian parliament. Representatives of the separatists from these settlements ignored all the provisions of this document, continuing actions aimed at undermining the state system of the Republic of Moldova.

The groundlessness of speculations around the issue of alleged violation of human rights and the rights of national minorities by the leadership of the Republic of Moldova was also stated by the mission of the International Helsinki Federation for Human Rights, headed by its chairman

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Mr. Bern Elmqvist, who visited the republic on November 23-26, 1991.

On December 8, 1991, the Republic of Moldova is to hold a nationwide presidential election. In violation of the laws of the Republic of Moldova, the separatist forces and the military and paramilitary formations created by them, with the support of the Soviet military units deployed in the left-bank regions of the Dniester, appointed and carried out [December 199] presidential elections in the so-called Pridnestrovian Moldavian Republic, resorting to threats, deploying military detachments and units and blocking the entrances to the settlements of this region.

After the transition on December 3, 199] of the commander of the 14th Army of the Odessa Military District, Lieutenant General G.I. Yakovlev, into the subordination of the separatist forces of Transnistria, the military and paramilitary detachments of the separatists and units of the Soviet army began to occupy the settlements on the left bank of the Dniester. The leadership of the Republic of Moldova over the past two years has repeatedly appealed to the state authorities of the USSR with a demand to put an end to actions that undermine the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Moldova and threaten peace and stability in this zone. No effective measures were taken by these state authorities. On the contrary, with the tacit consent of the central structures of state power of the USSR, including the Ministry of Defense,

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the actions of the last days are also possible, which mark the beginning of the military-political putsch of the fascist kind, directed against the Republic of Moldova. This could lead to tragic consequences for the entire region and affect the interests of neighboring states.

Conscious of the need to preserve peace and stability, we appeal to the parliaments and governments of the countries of the world, to the United Nations Security Council with a request to determine their attitude and take decisive measures to avoid the outbreak of conflicts in this zone of Europe that could lead to tragic consequences.

We deem it necessary and ask to send permanent observers of the UN Security Council and representatives of other international bodies to the Republic of Moldova".

The document was signed on December 6, 1991 by Mircea Snegur, Alexandru Moshanu, Valeriu Muravschi.

On December 7, at the checkpoint of Ungheni, border guards detained six KamAZ trucks, accompanied by employees of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Moldova, with Romanian machine guns and cartridges,

covered with uniforms. The Minister of National Security, Anatolie Plugaru, stated that "this is a lie, in the back of one truck there was only a training weapon."

In the first ten days of December, when the Moldovan police tried to take weapons out of the village of Glinnoe, the Grigoriopol militia intercepted and took away the weapons

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yourself. This operation was led by Sergeant Vladimir Postika.

On December 11, two units in Tiraspol (the 115th separate engineer-sapper battalion and the 176th mechanized infantry regiment of the 59th division) and the Dubossary garrison (237th engineer-sapper brigade) declared their readiness to pass under the jurisdiction of the PMR.

On December 12, a statement was published by the Ministers of Internal Affairs Ion Costas, National Security Anatolie Plugaru, Justice Alexei Barbeneagre, Prosecutor of the Republic of Moldova Dumitru Postovan: "There is no and will not be a so-called PMR. There are only separatists. We will take all legal measures to stop actions aimed at undermining the integrity of the Republic of Moldova. We will not allow the creation of anti-constitutional state structures and paramilitary units on the territory of Moldova."

Ion Costas stated that "the conflict must be resolved by political means, although in civilized countries the police use weapons in the fight against illegal armed groups."

December 13 — the third armed attack by Moldova on the city of Dubossary. There was a fight at the traffic police post across the river. Dniester. As a result of the armed confrontation, Pridnestrovians Yu.I. Tsurkan, A.N. Patergin and V.V. Shcherbaty and four Moldovan policemen. Six people were wounded. The armed forces of Moldova captured about 25 PMR guardsmen.

On December 15, the first volunteers from the Cossack formations of Russia appeared in Transnistria. This

there were Don and Kuban Cossacks, led by the marching ataman of the Kuban Cossack Rada A.A. Babkov. They immediately departed for Dubossary.

On December 17, a meeting of the descendants of the Cossacks took place in Tiraspol. It was decided to revive the Black Sea Cossack army in the PMR.

In mid-December, during a meeting of the CIS heads of state in Belarus, Pridnestrovian women held a peace march across the territory of Ukraine and Belarus. At meetings with the workers of Belarus and officials of Ukraine and Belarus, they talked about what is happening in the PMR.

On December 26, the creation of the Black Sea Cossack Army was completed. A.I. was elected district ataman. Rudchuk. In addition to the Cossacks of the ChKV, the Don, Kuban, Ural and even Siberian Cossacks who arrived to help Transnistria took part in the armed conflict. They came to protect the Russians. Many of them did not immediately understand what was happening here. There were also those (very few) who came to get hold of weapons, to show off in front of TV cameras. But such people were quickly identified and escorted away.

In his book "The Wild Field", Yefim Bershin wrote: "Most of the Cossacks fought the way their ancestors fought, with fiction and, one might even say, desperately. They turned dump trucks into launchers for rockets "Alazan", invented a mortar from water pipes. The Don Cossacks especially showed themselves under the leadership of the marching ataman Ratiev,

who captured one BTR-80 and knocked out three armored personnel carriers from a grenade launcher. Once, on a captured armored personnel carrier, they broke into the village of Koshnitsa from the rear, which caused a disorderly flight of the Moldovan police, who concentrated to cross the Vadului-Vodsky bridge".

In general, the role of visiting Cossacks in the Transnistrian defense is slightly exaggerated. In the general armed formations of the TMR, their number did not exceed 200-250 people. Significantly more in the ranks of the defenders of Transnistria were local Cossacks.

December 12 G.I. Yakovlev was summoned to Moscow to the Ministry of Defense and demanded to explain how he ended up in the position of head of the TMR military department. After the "explanation", he was removed from the post of army commander, and they wanted to appoint the Moldavian general Tudor Dabizha in his place. But here, in defense of G.I. Yakovlev was made by the inhabitants of Transnistria and the Cossacks of the Black Sea Cossack Host. More than 18 thousand signatures were collected in support of the commander of the 14th Army. The Commander-in-Chief of the Land Forces V.M. Semyonov reinstated Yakovlev in his post. Moscow General G.I. Yakovleva left alone, but not for long.

I.N. Smirnov in his book "Live on Our Land" writes: "If Yakovlev had continued to be a commander, we would not have had to literally "besiege" military barracks and hangars with equipment in the most difficult moments of the 1992 war, our women would not have had to kneel

to stand in front of the officers, begging, if not to help with their participation, then at least to give equipment, to enable Pridnestrovian men to defend Pridnestrovie themselves. G.I. Yakovlev was an officer about whom one can rightly say that he has a conscience and honor. Smirnov wrote everything correctly about G.I. Yakovlev, but he forgot to write that Yakovlev offered him in 1991 to build the entire army on the parade ground and take an oath of allegiance to the people of Transnistria. Smirnov did not dare to take this step.

"In January 1992, the All-Army Officers' Meeting was held in the Kremlin. That was the last congress of officers of the Soviet Army sentenced to dissolution. Almost five thousand delegates and guests of the "funeral forum" from the first minutes of its work launched an attack on the "Belovezhskaya conspirators". An incredibly electrified, nervous atmosphere was created in the hall. The officers showed manners inappropriate to their mentality: whistling, stamping their feet, throwing angry remarks at the "Union gravediggers" and even threats, among which were heard calls for arrest. The officers demanded that the presidents of the republics come to them (on that day, a meeting of the CIS heads of state was held in Moscow) and explained what was happening with the country and the army. Air Marshal E.I., presiding at the meeting Shaposhnikov announced a break. But even during the break, the protest passions did not subside. The most zealous speakers went to the podium and sprinkled their fiery-prickly speeches around the hall.

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When the turn came to the representative of the Kazakh delegation, thousands of people fell silent. The Kazakh said: "If Nazarbaev were in Belarus, there would be no Belovezhskaya Pushcha." And a wild burst of applause. At that time, I did not meet a single general or officer who would speak disrespectfully about Nazarbayev. The respect of the military for Nursultan Abishevich was manifested even then, in the Kremlin. The appearance of Nazarbayev on the podium was greeted with such a thunder of applause, which, probably, the Kremlin had not heard since the departure of Brezhnev (Yeltsin's appearance to the officers was greeted with liquid applause, sometimes alternating with hooligan whistling).

Nazarbayev's speech was short-lived. With his quiet voice and his "trademark" sober-mindedness, he tried to instill in people that it was necessary to accept what had happened as a real reality, that now it was necessary to get used to living and serving in a new political and military community. But even the brilliance of the filigree logic and pragmatism of the presidential thoughts could not hide from the people what was said between the lines of his speech: sharp movements and haste in a big

politics are dangerous, the interests of peoples and armies must be higher than the personal interests of political leaders. "Kazakhstan will draw its own conclusions from everything that has happened and build its state and military strategy in accordance with the new realities..." These last words of his were a clear mixture of poorly concealed resentment and discontent. And even then it was easy

to assume that both this resentment and this dissatisfaction, publicly expressed in the correct form, will have serious consequences for Moscow" (Baranets V.N. The General Staff without secrets).

From the 14th Army, Colonel Ruslan Viktorovich Kim, head of the operational department, was elected a delegate to the congress. He was given the task of making his way to the podium, speaking and talking about the problems that the 14th Army, which is completely cut off from Russia, is facing.

In January 1992, the Commander-in-Chief of the CIS Allied Armed Forces, Air Marshal E.I. Shaposhnikov removes G.I. Yakovlev. On January 15, Deputy Minister of Defense of Russia Colonel-General B.V. arrived in Tiraspol. Gromov with the new commander of the 14th Army, Major General Yu.M. Netkachev.

Netkachev Yury Maksimovich was born in 1945 at the state farm Rubezhnoye st. Ridge of the Kuibyshev district of the Kuibyshev region.

In August 1965 he entered the Ulyanovsk Guards Higher Tank School named after V.I. Lenin. During the training period, he showed himself to be a competent, disciplined cadet.

After graduating from college in July 1968, he was appointed commander of a tank platoon of a tank battalion of a separate tank regiment of the army of the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany.

In September 1971 Yu.M. Netkachev was appointed commander of a company of heavy tanks in a tank battalion

tank regiment of the combined arms army of the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany.

In August 1973 he entered the Military Academy of Armored Forces.

After graduating from the academy in June 1976, he was appointed chief of staff - deputy commander of the guards tank regiment of the motorized rifle division of the Red Banner Far Eastern Military District.

In November 1977 Yu.M. Netkachev was appointed commander of the Guards Tank Regiment of the Guards Tank Division of the Far Eastern Military District. In May 1980, he was deputy commander of a motorized rifle division of the Far Eastern Military District.

A year later, in August 1981, he was appointed commander of a tank division in the Far Eastern Military District, and in August 1982, commander of a training tank division in the Far Eastern Military District.

In August 1986 he entered the main faculty of the Military Academy of the General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces. K.E. Voroshilov, from which he graduated in July 1988. After graduating from the academy, he was appointed First Deputy Commander of the Guards Tank Army.

In January 1992, he was appointed commander of the 14th Guards Army. In July 1992 - Commander of the Army in the Volga Military District.

25 January Moldova announces the introduction of its own national currency, the leu. On the territory of the PMR, the lei is not recognized and does not circulate.

On February 15, the President of the Republic of Moldova, Mircea Snegur, issued a decree on the transfer of the complex of buildings and structures of the High Command of the South-Western Direction Troops to the Ministry of Defense of Moldova. Then Chisinau submits to Moscow a list of units and objects of the former Soviet army, which must immediately go to the Moldovan side. All this clearly indicated that Moldova was striving at an accelerated pace to "build up its military muscles", having far-reaching plans.

On March 1, the special services of Moldova commit the murder of the head of the police department of the city of Dubossary, Major I.S. Sipchenko. In response to this provocation, the Cossacks of the Black Sea Cossack Army seized the police building and arrested 27 Moldovan police officers.

On March 2, a detachment of the special police of the Republic of Moldova, dressed in civilian clothes, crosses the ice through the reservoir of the Dubossary hydroelectric power station and captures the civil defense regiment in the village of Cocieri.

The officers of the regiment and their families were taken hostage. The regiment was not officially part of the 14th Army, but was subordinate to the Armed Forces of the CIS. Commander of the 14th Army, Major General Yu.M. Netkachev categorically refused to intervene in this conflict. He sent the chief of staff of the army, Major General V.I. Sitnikov, head of army intelligence Colonel S.F. Kharlamov and his assistant for educational work, Colonel A.M. Baranov.

The Oponovites kept them under fire for an hour and a half and did not talk to them.

It was painful and embarrassing to watch how not units of the 14th Army, but the TMR Guards, headed by Major V.A., came out to protect the officers of the regiment and their families. Voronkov. During this battle, he and three other guardsmen died (Ensign L.A. Tolstenko, Sergeant S.V. Titovsky, Private S.I. Shinkov), 21 people were wounded. The families of officers and ensigns were released and taken out of the military camp.

On March 3, on the highway between the settlements of Tashlyk and Grigoriopol, an ambulance was fired at night, which was carrying a woman in labor from the Moldovan village of Speya to the hospital. The midwife died, the woman in labor and the driver received multiple injuries.

The next day, I.N. Smirnov blamed the Moldovan volunteers for the incident and declared a state of emergency in the Dubossary region.

In 1993, speaking on the local independent television channel ASKET, a witness of the incident, R. Sabirov, a former Riga riot policeman, reported that the Transnistrian Chekists V. Nikitenko and S. Bubnov had shot the car by "mistake".

March 7 at the headquarters of the 14th army in Tiraspol held a picket of the women's strike committee. The women demanded that Yu.M. Netkachev for inaction and transfer the army under legal

diction of the PMR.

The Transnistrian authorities did not waste time. Everything that was said at the headquarters of the 14th Army at meetings, all incoming ciphers, confidential conversations and meetings in the commander's office instantly became known to the leadership of the PMR and the Republic of Moldova. Netkachev set a task for a special department of the army to find where the information was being leaked from. And found. At the army headquarters, an inconspicuous woman worked as a cleaner, such a "gray mouse", who installed listening devices in the office of the army commander and the meeting room of the Army Military Council. But this was one of the "brooks".

There were still many officers and warrant officers who understood that the central government had betrayed them for the sake of their own ambitions. And they have to live on this earth together with their families. Therefore, for Yu.M. It was no secret to Netkachev that the majority of servicemen sympathized with the PMR and were ready to help it in every possible way.

On March 11, in Dubossary, Moldovan policemen captured senior assistant prosecutor V. Livonenko and investigator I. Sachinsky.

March 13 Lieutenant Colonel V.I. Zheregelya, commander of the military transport aviation squadron of the CIS Armed Forces, flew out to reconnoiter the weather. In the area of the villages of Molovata and Cocieri, his plane was fired upon by the oppositionists of Moldova. One engine was damaged, and his plane barely made it to the airfield in Tiras

In the period from 3 to 16 March, the Armed Forces of Moldova managed to capture on the left bank of the river. Dniester settlements Novaya Malovata, Kochieri, Pyryta and Koshnitsa, and in the areas of the settlements of Rogi and Dorotskoye there are two sections of the Tiraspol-Rybnitsa road. Communication along the Rybnitsa-Tiraspol highway was interrupted. But as a result of retaliatory actions on the part of the Pridnestrovians, the road was recaptured.

In order to somehow prevent the successful actions of the Armed Forces of Moldova, the Pridnestrovians blew up the bridges across the river. Dniester near the settlements Dubossary and Bychok.

On March 14, women, visiting Cossacks and guardsmen of the PMR seized weapons depots in the village of Parkany (electronic warfare battalion (EW) of the 14th Army, battalion commander Lieutenant Colonel A.N. Petryasov). The Ministry of Defense and the FSB of Russia warned the Ministry of Defense and the FSB of Russia about the plans of the Transnistrian side to capture the EW Parkan battalion. However, no measures were taken by Moscow to curb the planned actions of the TMR.

1,307 submachine guns, 255 pistols and 1.5 million rounds of ammunition were removed from the warehouses. Here is how G.S. Andreeva: "After the arsenals were captured, everything that was in the arsenals, we handed over to the guys from the TSO, the Cossacks of the ChKV, Don and Kuban."

They just took it and handed it over without any consideration, painting. Transferred and everything. Although in the PMR there were already officially

formed their own armed formations — the guards of the PMR. They seized everything they could: overcoats, bowler hats, cars, grenades... But the worst thing was that there was no record of weapons.

On March 15, near the village of Rogi, a bus with tourists from Kharkov was fired upon. Passengers in a panic tried to throw out the white flag, but it did not help. Two passengers were killed and one was injured.

On March 16, on the territory of Ukraine (on the Tiraspol-Odessa highway), the Moldovan special services captured the former commander of the 14th Army, General G.I. Jacob is a lion. On March 19, Moldova officially recognized the fact of his abduction. March 20, General G.I. Yakovlev was exchanged for 27 policemen, who were captured by the Cossacks in the city of Dubossary on the night of March 1-2.

On March 18, an armed attack was carried out on the 189th missile brigade of the 14th army, stationed in the city of Balti. During the skirmish that ensued, one soldier was wounded, but the attack was repulsed.

On March 23, at 12 noon, near the village of Koshnitsa, on the line of contact of the opposing sides, the Moldovan side fired on a group of Swiss journalists (Andriana Tsshokke, Christopher Müller), who appeared from the PMR. The Moldovan side was warned in advance about their appearance.

On March 26, the Moldovan side attacked the police station in the city of Grigoriopol,

the distribution power plant was blown up and the pump substation was put out of action. The area was without electricity and water for several days.

At the same time (March 20), Commander-in-Chief of the Allied Forces of the CIS Air Marshal E.I. Shaposhnikov and Chairman of the Moldovan Government Valeriu Muravschi signed an official agreement on the transfer to the Republic of Moldova of all military units located on the right bank of the river. Dniester. From that moment, the urgent transfer of weapons and equipment, which were located on the right bank, to the newly formed Moldovan army officially began.

The Republic of Moldova received from the former Odessa Military District and the Ministry of Defense of the USSR (central subordination) the following formations, units and institutions:

- Headquarters of the Headquarters of the Supreme High Command of the South-Western Direction (SWN);
- spare communication center of the General Staff of the Armed Forces of the USSR;
- a communication team of the YuZN headquarters, consisting of 4 field and one stationary nodes;
- anti-aircraft missile brigade;
- heavy relay-cable battalion;
- Regiment of protection and support of the YuZN headquarters;
- warehouses of fuels and lubricants in the village of Pyrlitsa;
- a base for the storage of weapons and equipment (the former 89th motorized rifle division), which was located in Balti and Flores-
- 119th regiment of the MiG-29 Fighter Naval Aviation Division (34 aircraft), which belonged to the Black Sea Fleet.

In Ungheni, a complete (without a reconnaissance artillery regiment) army artillery kit of the 14th Army was handed over, or rather, it will be said, abandoned, since no one handed anything to anyone, as well as artillery ammunition depots by the number not less than warehouses in Kolbasnoe.

In December 1991, on the basis of an agreement between the Ministers of Internal Affairs of the USSR (signed by V.V. Bakatin) and the Republic of Moldova, to strengthen the police of Moldova, equipment, weapons and property of the former USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs were transferred to more than a motorized rifle division, including 35 BTR-70.

The fact that the Allied Center could no longer influence the events taking place, including the events taking place in the armed forces, is evidenced, for example, by such a fact. "In the early spring of 1992, at a meeting of the collegium of the Ministry of Defense, the question of the military-political situation in the CIS was discussed after the Belovezhskaya Pushcha decisions and statements by the governments of a number of republics about the nationalization of parts of the former Soviet army. The meeting was somewhat reminiscent of a funeral feast. The commanders-in-chief of the branches of the Armed Forces and the commanders of the branches of the armed forces reported in a gloomy tone about the loss of weapons and military property. And as they unfolded frightening pictures of the plunder of their troops by military departments, popular fronts

and the armed formations of the republics, the situation in the hall began to heat up. When the assessment of the main military-strategic losses for Russia was made, in particular, after Kiev seized three military districts with all the bases of inviolable food supplies, material and clothing property, almost all strategic aviation, aircraft - tankers and also threatened to kidnap almost the entire Black Sea Fleet, - here the Commander-in-Chief of the Navy, Admiral of the Fleet V.N. Chernavin. Addressing the presiding collegium, Air Marshal E.I. Shaposhnikov, he said indignantly:

— Yevgeny Ivanovich, what is going on? Kyiv grabbed three districts from us, and at least we blathered.

Shaposhnikov looked displeasedly at the commander-in-chief. There was an explosive silence in the hall. Chernavin dared to openly say what almost all the members of the collegium were thinking. Shaposhnikov, badly concealing his irritation, answered:

- Vladimir Nikolaevich, why, in fact, are we obliged to blather?

A low general murmur swept through the hall. Shaposhnikov understood this absolutely precisely: his subordinates were dissatisfied with his answer to Admiral Chernavin's question. And so the marshal decided to at least soften his awkward position a little, he said that the top military leadership should not discuss the political decisions made "above", but implement them.

- And if these decisions turn against us? resounded in the hall.

"This is the board of the Ministry of Defense, not the political club," the marshal retorted irritably, "let's discuss our problems" (Baranets V.N. The General Staff without secrets).

Many of the generals, who at that time were more concerned about their careers and their well-being under the new democratic masters, showed unusual agility in transferring property. On March 25, one of the leaders of this transfer, Colonel-General Boris Piankov, stated that "the process of transferring property to the Ministry of Defense of the Republic of Moldova is proceeding normally." And when the matter really smelled of war and the fact that, perhaps, someone would have to answer for everything, already in April he said: "It would be strange to say that we are transferring something to Moldova ... Because they want quickly form our armed forces, and then solve the problem of Transnistria by force ... "

Air Marshal E.I. Shaposhnikov said in one of his interviews: "There is no need to stir up each other, escalate tension because somewhere a certain number of tanks or planes ended up not in Russia, but in Moldova. After all, it's all hardware, after all."

But many officers of the 14th Army understood that all this transfer of military equipment to Moldova would end in war. After all, even with the naked eye it was clear that Moldova was hastily preparing to solve the problem of Transnistria by force.

In March 1992, a group of officers of the Missile Forces and Artillery Directorate (M&A) of the Ground Forces, with the help of the commanders of the 4th Army Artillery Regiment, Lieutenant Colonel V.V. Skam'in and the 803rd Army Jet Regiment, Lieutenant Colonel V.A. Vorotilo from Ungheni took out the fire control panels for multiple launch rocket systems (MLRS) Uragan and percussion mechanisms for 152-mm guns by helicopter. These and other similar actions delayed the outbreak of armed conflict. But by June, the Moldovan side managed to buy the missing fire control panels and percussion mechanisms on the territory of Ukraine.

On March 30, Russian-speaking air traffic controllers and loaders are urgently replaced with Moldovan ones at the Chisinau airport. They are waiting for the arrival of military supplies from Romania.

] April, in the city of Bendery, the Moldovan side shot down a post of the Transnistrian police and a bus with workers of a cotton factory. On the same day, two armored personnel carriers of the Moldovan police broke into Bender from the direction of the village of Gyrbovets and fired at the post of the Pridnestrovian militia. Lieutenant colonel V. Taranov was killed, several people were wounded.

Bendery from all sides bristled with roadblocks. Self-defense detachments were organized at the factories. The personnel of the territorial rescue teams (TSO) and the 2nd battalion of the PMR guards were armed with a machine gun captured in the Parkan EW battalion

tic weapon.

April 1, in accordance with the decree of B.N. Yeltsin, the 14th Guards Combined Arms Army finally came under the jurisdiction of Russia. Friction began between the Moldovan side and the Russian

The Ministry of Defense about which units nevertheless came under the jurisdiction of Russia, and which ones have already been transferred to Moldova, since one agreement has already been signed between E.I. Shaposhnikov and Valeriu Muravsky on the transfer of units of the 14th Army located in the garrisons of Dubossary, Bendery, Balti, Rybnitsa. It turned out that Moscow contradicts itself. There was no interaction between the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Defense of Russia with the Joint Armed Forces of the CIS.

DECREE of the President of the Russian Federation of April 1, 1992 No. 320 ON THE TRANSFER UNDER THE JURISDICTION OF THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION OF THE MILITARY UNITS OF THE ARMED FORCES OF THE FORMER USSR LOCATED IN THE TERRITORY OF THE REPUBLIC OF MOLDOVA

In order to maintain sustainable management and ensure the functioning of the 14th Guards Army, formations, military units and institutions of the Armed Forces of the former USSR located on the territory of the Republic of Moldova and not included in the

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becoming the Republic of Moldova's own armed forces, preventing the involvement of troops in interethnic conflicts, as well as the social protection of military personnel and members of their families, I decide:

1. Transfer the 14th Guards Army, formations, military units and institutions of the Armed Forces of the former USSR, located on the territory of the Republic of Moldova and not included in its own armed forces, under the jurisdiction of the Russian Federation with their subordination to the Commander-in-Chief of the United Armed Forces of the Commonwealth of Independent States.
2. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation, together with the High Command of the Joint Armed Forces of the CIS, immediately begin negotiations with the Republic of Moldova on the legal status and conditions for the presence of troops under the jurisdiction of the Russian Federation on its territory.
3. Establish that the financing of the activities of the 14th Guards Army, formations, military units and institutions of the Armed Forces of the former USSR, located on the territory of the Republic of Moldova and not included in its own armed forces, is carried out at the expense of the budget of the Russian Federation.
4. Appoint Colonel General Semyonov Vladimir Magomedovich as an authorized representative

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of the Russian Federation on the issues of the presence of troops on the territory of the Republic of Moldova.

5. The authorized representative of the Russian Federation to take measures to prevent the involvement of troops transferred under the jurisdiction of the Russian Federation in accordance with this Decree in interethnic conflicts and their interference in the internal affairs of the Republic of Moldova, as well as to suppress attempts to seize weapons, military equipment - ki and military facilities of the specified military formations.
6. The decree comes into force from the moment of signing.

President of Russian Federation

B. YELTSIN.

Moscow Kremlin.

| April 1992

No. 320.

An interesting picture emerged: "Agreement..." was signed on the one hand by the Prime Minister of Moldova, and on the other hand, on the Russian side, by the Commander-in-Chief of the CIS Joint Armed Forces, who is not even a representative of Russia's supreme executive power. Subsequently, A.I. played great on this nuance. Lebed, who always answered all the claims of the Moldovan side about the ownership of the disputed military unit or equipment: "What does the CIS Joint Forces and Shaposhnikov have to do with it, if this

army..." "53

On April 2, officers of the 14th Army held a meeting at which the following demands were put forward: "If, after the completion of negotiations, hostilities and provocations are not finally stopped and the withdrawal of armed formations does not begin, the personnel of the army will put formations and units on full combat readiness. The casting will begin at 4 p.m. on April 2, 1992." At this meeting were absent as the commander of the army, Major General Yu.M. Netkachev, and the chief of staff of the army, Major General V.V. Tikhomirov. They just didn't come to him. The meeting was chaired by the Deputy Commander for Combat Training, Major General B.M. Melnichuk.

At the meeting, the officers proposed to withdraw units and subunits of the 14th Army to the line dividing the warring parties. This initiative was reported to the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Russia A.V. Kozyrev during his visit to Tiraspol. However, there was no response to this proposal.

April 5, Vice President of Russia A.V. Rutskoi, Advisor to the President S.B. Stankevich and Deputy Minister of Defense Colonel-General B.V. Gromov arrived in Tiraspol. A rally was held on the square near the monument to fallen soldiers during the Great Patriotic War. On it A.V. Rutskoi assured all those present that Russia would find a way to protect its citizens "regardless of their place of residence" and would take retaliatory measures against Moldova. A.V. Rutskoi said that the issue of Transnistria will be raised at the first meeting

Che heads of states of the CIS. He expressed a desire to see the 14th Army on the dividing line between the warring parties as "something like blue helmets or blue berets." Then he wanted to fly to Chisinau, but he was not accepted there. Insulted, Rutskoi flew to Moscow.

He kept his word. At the VI Congress of People's Deputies of the Russian Federation, a resolution was adopted "On Assistance in Ensuring Human Rights in Pridnestrovie by Moldova. The congress confirmed Russia's readiness to form a military contingent on a voluntary basis from the military personnel of the 14th Army to separate the conflicting parties before the creation of peacekeeping forces.

After his departure, tensions began between Chisinau and Moscow: Moldova asked how to understand and evaluate the words of the Vice-President of Russia?

In order to alleviate the tension that had arisen, Russian Foreign Minister A.V. flew to Chisinau. Kozyrev.

On April 6, he arrived in Bender, and then in Tiraspol. In Bendery, he met with the Chairman of the Supreme Council of the PMR G.S. Passion fruit and deputies of the city council. At the meeting, he said that Moldova does not even want to consider such a concept as "republic" in relation to the PMR, and advised agreeing to the definition of the type of "region or region" within Moldova.

In Tiraspol, he met with the women of Transnistria, where he said: "Dear and beloved

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compatriots! We know your pain, we think about you, we will not leave you. We will continue to participate in the negotiations as a deeply interested party. Today we have agreed that at 15.00 the shelling will stop and the withdrawal of the armed formations will begin. Troops will enter the buffer zone. Then the negotiation process will continue, and we will meet more than once.”

After that, in the club of the 183rd MRR, he met with the officers of the 59th motorized rifle division. At the meeting, the officers suggested that the 14th Army officially stand between the warring parties like blue helmets. Kozyrev evaded a direct answer and said that this issue would be worked out at the appropriate level.

On April 7, a meeting of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of Russia, Ukraine, Moldova and Romania took place in Chisinau, which was also attended by a delegation from Pridnestrovie. The "Declaration on Transnistria" was adopted. WRI was guaranteed the status of a free economic zone. Military observers from Ukraine, Romania, Russia, Moldova and the PMR were invited to the line of confrontation between the parties. They were tasked with monitoring compliance by the warring parties with the terms of the agreements reached. Later, as time showed, the military observers did not cope with their task.

Upon completion of the trip to the Republic of Moldova, A.V. Kozyrev scornfully declared in the newspaper "Iz

Vestija": "These people live in isolation from reality", "Rutskoi instilled hope in Pridnestrovians and caused an increase in anti-Russian sentiments in Moldova". For the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Russia, the opinion of Moldova and the West was more important than the fate of 750 thousand people, among whom were Russians living on the left bank of the Dniester.

On April 12, between the Republic of Moldova and the Pridnestrovian Moldavian Republic, the so-called "April protocol" on a truce was signed. The commander of the 14th Army, General Yu.M. Netkachev. He actually pushed the authorities of the city to sign the protocol, assuring everyone that in which case the military would not give offense to the city. But in June, General Yu.M. Netkachev completely forgot about all his promises.

According to the protocol, the city removed checkpoints, disarmed and disbanded military formations, and stored all weapons in barracks under the supervision of military observers.

On April 23, a group of Moldovan terrorists in the afternoon in the village of Karagash fatally wounded the chairman of the Slobodzeya regional executive committee, N.I. Ostapenko.

At the beginning of May, the chief of artillery of the TMR, Colonel of the Reserve Vladimir Dmitrievich Komissarov (former Chief of Staff of the RV&A of the 14th Army) came to see me. We were well aware that the shaky truce that was reached between Moldova and Transnistria could not last long. Moldova had

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there is a very great temptation to solve all existing political problems by force.

In Moldova, they knew that they had a great superiority in weapons, equipment and personnel over the armed formations of Transnistria. V.D. and I Komissarov agreed that the TMR artillerymen would be trained on the basis of the 328th Self-Propelled Artillery Regiment (SAP) of the 59th Guards. motorized rifle division. At that time, the division was just training with tankmen. Komissarov organized through the city military commissariat fees with assigned staff (artillerymen) and trained his specialists until mid-May.

This achieved three goals:

1. The armed formations of the PMR trained specialists for themselves.
2. The intensity of passions among the local population subsided a little. People saw that the 14th Army was ready to come to their aid in the event of an armed conflict.
3. An unauthorized seizure of artillery equipment was prevented.

Even when a crowd of women and Cossacks, led by G.S. Andreeva came to the artillery regiment for equipment, V.D. Commissars with acolytes, who were at the training camp at that time, were not allowed to withdraw equipment from the park.

In the second half of May Yu.M. Netkachev gave a command to the formation and units of the army to dismantle the equipment so that it could not leave the parks, even if it was captured by the Pridnestrovians. All warehouses with weapons,

equipment and ammunition, as well as approaches to them were mined.

The commander of the 328th sap, lieutenant colonel M., in his own way, carried out the order of the army commander. An imitation of dismantling of equipment was carried out. Only air filters were removed from self-propelled artillery mounts (ACS); everything was done to ensure that the equipment, if necessary, could be restored in the shortest possible time. The soul and heart of an artillery officer did not allow ruining equipment with his own hands.

The training of artillerymen of the PMR took place under the guidance of officers of the artillery regiment of 85-mm anti-tank (the so-called substitute guns, they were used for individual combat firing of artillery officers) and 100-mm anti-aircraft guns. They were old artillery systems, but still it was better than nothing. Pridnestrovians were incredibly happy with this technique. Tankers did the same.

Many officers were dissatisfied with the actions of the army commander. Daily formations in front of the army headquarters and tedious explanations of something that had nothing to do with the real situation drove many officers crazy. Some officers were ready to go over to the side of the PMR and helped the local authorities in every possible way.

I remember such a case. Head of the Rocket and Artillery Service of the Army lieutenant colonel

V. Nazin illegally handed over part of the artillery devices and small arms to the authorities of the PMR. This became known to the commander of the army. An internal investigation was conducted, and based on its results, V. Nazin was presented for dismissal from the Armed Forces. Having learned about this decision, Lieutenant Colonel V. Nazin, as they say, took a little "on his chest" for courage, took the machine gun and went to the reception room to the commander in order to sort things out with him. Luckily, there was no bloodshed. For this offense, the officer was not even prosecuted. He was retired from the Armed Forces. Later, V. Nazin went to serve in the armed formations of the PMR.

On May 17, the situation near the settlements of Dorotskoye, Koshnitsa, and Dubossary escalated sharply. The Moldovan side launched an offensive with the use of artillery and armored vehicles. For three days from 17 to 19 June in Dubossary, 20 people were killed and more than 60 were wounded.

Since the bridge across the Dniester near the city was blown up, and it was possible to cross to the right bank only through the dam of the Dubossary hydroelectric power station, fierce battles flared up for its mastery. Fires broke out in the production buildings of the Dubossary HPP and the mechanical plant. One of the hydroelectric power plant's transformers was damaged by the explosion, and more than eight

tons of oil.

All this could lead to an ecological catastrophe. In the event of a dam failure, the 465 million cubic meters of water in the reservoir could rush downstream. And then a wave with a height of about 20 meters (in the Dubossary region) and about 10 meters (in the Chobruchi region) could demolish 31 settlements not only on the left, but also on the right bank.

May 21, 1992 E.I. Shaposhnikov sent an appeal to the leadership of Moldova. It stated: "...Repeated shelling by snipers of military personnel in the Bendery garrison, which began on May 18 with guns and mortars at the military garrison in Dubossary, confirms the conclusion that it was not military personnel who started dangerous political games that led to human casualties. and the spread of hostilities".

At that time, the former commander of the Ural Military District, Colonel General A.M., arrived in Tiraspol. Makashov began to escalate the already explosive situation. I don't know what the conversation was about at the meeting of A.M. Makashova with Yu.M. Netkachev, but when the so-called seizure of equipment by the Pridnestrovians took place on May 19, Yu.M. There was no opposition from Netkachev.

Makashov met with officers of the army administration. The meeting was held in the House of Culture of the plant. Kirov. The former commander of the Ural Military District accused us of all mortal sins, calling us traitors to Russia. He threatened to fire us all, not

even put them in jail. He called to go over to the side of the PMR, while promising that in the event of an aggravation of the situation, Russia would provide all kinds of (including military) support to Pridnestrovie.

There was no clear answer to the questions of the officers, "who does he represent here and what security guarantees will the officers and their families have in the event of an unpredictable development of events?" He carried out the same work (meetings) in the 59th division and in other parts of the army.

And the army was already on the verge of collapse. People faced the question: to pass or not to pass under the jurisdiction of the PMR. The situation in the cities of the Left Bank was tense. Officers and members of their families were subjected to constant psychological pressure, and sometimes even physical pressure. The officers and ensigns of the 14th Army were called nothing more than traitors. All this did not happen without the knowledge of the local authorities, since both radio and local newspapers were involved here.

It has become unsafe to appear in uniform in public places, in transport. The seizure of vehicles of the 14th Army began, especially the UAZ-469. And since many officers and ensigns were born and studied here, they all had many friends, comrades from school. That is, wherever you go, everywhere you come across the condemning and contemptuous glances of people. Many officers and ensigns do not have nerves.

withstood.

The 115th separate engineer-sapper battalion of the 14th Army, which was stationed in the village of Parkany, under the command of Lieutenant Colonel I.V. Dutkevich on May 19 came under the jurisdiction of the PMR. The 237th engineer-sapper brigade under the command of Colonel I. Mukobenov, which was stationed in the city of Dubossary, was also on the verge of transition. In the units of the 59th Motor Rifle Division, the structures among the officers were similar, especially in the 176th Motorized Rifle Regiment (MSR) under the command of Colonel S.M. Protasov.

The role of the 115th separate engineer-sapper battalion for the protection of the PMR should be specially mentioned. In the period from January to August 1992, the personnel of the unit resolved the following combat tasks.

From February 1 to March 1, crews were trained for 12 GMZ units (caterpillar mine layer), 5 IMR-R (engineering reconnaissance and clearing vehicles), 9 IMR (engineering

reconnaissance vehicle), 2 units UR-67, 77 (means for making passages in minefields) from among volunteers - residents of the village. Parkans.

A company for the protection of the unit's facilities was prepared in the amount of 45 people. This reserve personnel formed the backbone of the formed militia battalion in July.

At the end of February, equipment in the amount of 2 IMR-R, 1 UR-77, 3 GMZ and 4 IMR was allocated to protect two bridges across the Dniester. The crews of the vehicles consisted of

personnel of the cadre and trained specialists from the reserve.

In April, officers of the unit were prepared to blow up 2 bridges across the Dniester. For this purpose, the required amount of explosives and blasting agents (trotyl - 500 kg, electric detonators - 60 pcs., sapper guide 4 km) were allocated.

On June 19-20, a militia battalion of 950 people was formed on the basis of the battalion, which took up defense along the left bank of the Dniester from the village of Bychok to the village of Ternovka. The battalion was fully equipped, put on all types of allowances and fought defensive battles for a month, thereby preventing the penetration of enemy sabotage groups into the territory of the PMR.

From June 25 to July 10, 5 IMR-R, 2 IRM, 1 UR-77 were allocated to the armored group in the city of Bendery.

Four mine barriers were made from TM-57 anti-tank mines, 15 mines each.

To cover the Bendery-Tiraspol road, 33 anti-personnel minefields MON-50 of non-removable action were installed in the area of the bridge across the Dniester.

Four engineering observation posts were equipped, from which continuous engineering reconnaissance of the enemy was carried out.

The army itself went into the hands of the Transnistrian authorities. Today it is difficult to say what guided at that time

I.N. Smirnov. Why didn't he use the chance to get his hands on the army. Most likely he was just afraid. But in any case, from the position of today, this can be regarded as a serious mistake on the part of the authorities of the PMR.

If the army came under the jurisdiction of the PMR, then there would be no armed conflict. Moldova would not dare to solve the Transnistrian issue from a position of strength. The army would not be morally pressed by the uncertainty in which it was. Everyone would know that the 14th Army is protecting their families, their homes. It is known from history that only those who are sure that the opposite side is weaker decide the issue from a position of strength.

And in subsequent years, no one would have dared to destroy new battle tanks and infantry fighting vehicles to please the West. In 1996-2001 more than 100 tanks that were in storage were destroyed. It was not necessary to tell and convince someone that these were tanks with exhausted motor resources, of a combat training group or freelance (as the commander of the Operational Group of Russian Forces in Transnistria V.G. Evnevich convinced everyone later). In November 1999, on the territory of the Tiraspol training center, 51 units of armored vehicles were rendered unusable by the methods of undermining and shooting. In September 2001, another 47 T-64 tanks were slashed, despite the fact that the range of most of them did not exceed 300-400 kilometers.

If it turned out this way, the local authorities would not have to develop an operation code-named "Lilac Fog" in case of "unauthorized", i.e. without the sanction of the Tiraspol authorities, the export of weapons and ammunition from Kolbasnaya. It would not be necessary to declare that all weapons and ammunition stored in warehouses are the property of the people of Transnistria, "temporarily transferred to the use of the Russian Federation". Smirnov would not have to state that, in principle, the TMR does not object to Russia taking out military equipment, but at the same time either leaving a part of Transnistria or paying compensation to Tiraspol, since it was the TMR that "saved weapons for Russia".

Russia, Ukraine, the European community would not allow an armed conflict to flare up. They would simply have to intervene. Each side here had its own problems and interests, especially territorial ones: Ukraine and Romania had Northern Bukovina and part of the Odessa region (Southern Bessarabia), Romania and Hungary had Transylvania, Romania and Bulgaria had Dobruja. Russia has the protection of the Russians and the return of their weapons. Well, Europe would be threatened with a redistribution of existing state borders.

Transnistria would not need to create armed forces. And the money that was spent on their creation would have been enough to maintain the 14th Army. After all, when you are strong, you are considered. But history is interesting because it does not return to the past. What happened, happened!

On May 19, the so-called capture of equipment by the Cossacks took place. All this happened under the direct supervision of G.S. Andreeva and Colonel General A.M. Makashova. Together with the equipment (6 pieces of 120-mm mortars 2S12 and 3 pieces of 100-mm anti-tank guns MT-12), lieutenant colonel N. and captain V.

The motorized riflemen left together with their equipment - Captain A.N. Zimanov, Senior Lieutenant F.F. Chernavsky, who died on May 20 near Dubossary. Also, Pridnestrovians captured 14 units. BTR-70; 1 unit BMP-2K; 2 units BRDM; 1 unit PRP-3; one 122 mm D-30 howitzer; 8 pcs. 85 mm anti-tank guns (D-44); 10 pieces. 100 mm (KS-19) anti-aircraft guns; 20 vehicles and 6 tankers.

The fact that the "capture" of armored vehicles was carried out, according to G.S. Andreeva (the book "Women of Transnistria"), on the basis of an agreement between the leadership of the Ministry of Defense of the Russian Federation and the PMR, now no one remembers.

On the same day, the Military Council of the 14th Army issued a statement. It said:

"During May 17-18, the situation in the area of Dubossary sharply worsened. Residential areas of the city were subjected to fierce shelling, including a military unit of the 14th Army that fell into the zone of the opposing sides. Thus, on May 18, a military camp was fired with six mines and four mines were fired at a town where families of servicemen lived. In the city of Dubbs

bossars there are numerous human casualties among the civilian population.

From the first day of the outbreak of the conflict, the 14th Army has been trying to take a position of neutrality, realizing that its intervention will entail even more serious consequences for innocent people. But it is not always possible to do this for various reasons, both subjective and objective, and the human factor played an important role here.

Considering that the development of events in recent times has become extremely harsh and poses a direct threat to the lives of servicemen and their families, the Military Council of the Army declares and warns the leadership of the Republic of Moldova and the Pridnestrovian Moldavian Republic that in the event of repeated shelling of military camps residential buildings of one side or another, we reserve the right to bring into the conflict areas for the direct protection of military installations, military units, residential towns and families of military personnel, the military equipment and fire weapons available in service and to deliver retaliatory fire hit.

At the same time, we appeal to the heads of state, governments and ministries of foreign affairs of Russia, Ukraine, Moldova and Romania with a proposal to immediately resume negotiations and take urgent measures to peacefully resolve the political and armed conflict in Transnistria

May 20 Chisinau was exposed to the picket of the 300th regiment of the Airborne Forces. The gates of the unit were blocked by vehicles.

According to the Moldovan press: "The reason why people stood at the gates of the unit was that on May 19, at six o'clock in the evening, units of the 14th Army got out of control of the commander and entered into hostilities. People refuse to trust the regiment, which is stationed in the very center of the city and has not taken the oath of allegiance to Moldova. The presence of a sufficient amount of equipment and the specialization of the regiment raise fears that, God forbid, as in Lithuania, an order will be given and weapons will be deployed against the people. Even, let's say, trusting Lebed himself, people are afraid that if he disobeys the higher authorities, he can simply be replaced by someone else. Nobody believes in guarantees - Netkachev also guaranteed non-intervention many times. The situation can be relieved only if the terms of the regiment's redeployment are reduced" (I. Kovaleva, Nezavisimaya Moldova, May 23, 1992).

On May 20, in the area of the village of Korzhovo, 10 people were killed on the positions of the Transnistrian side from a strong artillery shelling from the side of the Moldovan troops. In response to this, in the area of the village of Dorotskoye, a battery under the command of Lieutenant Colonel N. destroyed a mortar battery, an OPON recreation center with personnel and equipment (elevation 125.7). In the area of the village of Golerka, at the moment of crossing the Dniester River, the battery under

under the command of Captain V. destroyed the ferry and the barge with weapons and troops.

The Moldovan side immediately felt who was fighting with them. In 1993, the Moldavian newspaper Tsara, the print organ of the Popular Front of the Republic of Moldova, published an article by Colonel Nicolae Petrica, a combatant from the Moldavian side (later Chief of the General Staff of the Moldavian Army): "When I was appointed commander of the Kochi bridgehead, err, I tried, together with other officers, to create a battalion, to put things in order in military affairs ... After the battles of May 19, we all became convinced, as we expected, that the 14th Army was, in essence, fighting against us along with the bandits and the Cossacks. .."

The appearance of armored vehicles near Dubossary under the command of volunteer officers of the 14th Army for some time prevented the escalation of the armed conflict.

On May 21, the Moldovan side requested a truce.

All the equipment that was captured by the Pridnestrovians on May 19 did not return to the 14th Army. Only artillery units under the command of officers of the 14th Army returned.

On May 22, Mircea Snegur urgently sends a telegram to B.N. Yeltsin. Here is its content:

"Boris Nikolaevich! Despite my appeals to you about the extremely dangerous consequences of the Russian 14th Army getting out of control, the process of its disintegration continues. Moreover, in its parts

meetings are held where decisions are made to go over to the side of the bandit-separatist forces. Members of your army, Boris Nikolayevich, are firing from tanks at Moldovan villages today. Yesterday, a pregnant woman with young children was killed in the village of Molovata.

Hypocritically manipulating various kinds of statements about the need to protect their families (meanwhile, no one from the side of lawful formations fired at them and did not think to do so), the decomposed 14th Army, accusing a healthy minority of betrayal, went over to the side criminals. Now openly, by the power of Russian weapons, as part of illegal bandit formations, it prevents the legitimate authorities from restoring the constitutional

order. Both yesterday and last night, together with the bandits, your soldiers from various types of artillery, tanks, and other weapons fired practically continuously at peaceful settlements, at residential buildings.

Yes, Boris Nikolaevich, for residential buildings, because in Moldova, whose land is by nature intended for peace and harmony, there is no place for trenches. Dozens of people die every day, thousands of people have left their homes and ask me the question: what does this mean?

Such things are never forgotten or forgiven by history, dear President of the Russian Federation.

Mircea Snegur, President of the Republic of Moldova”.

On May 23, Mircea Snegur issued an order “On measures to protect the Republic of Moldova from armed

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aggression of units and subunits of the 14th Combined Arms Army that went over to the side of the separatist forces. It said:

“In connection with the sharp aggravation of the situation in the Republic of Moldova, the emergence of a real threat to its independence and territorial integrity as a result of the transition of units and subunits of the 14th General Armed Army of the Russian Federation to the side of illegal armed separatist formations that unleashed large-scale military actions against the constitutional law enforcement agencies, which caused numerous casualties among the civilian population, in order to stop the bloodshed on the soil of Moldova, protect its independence and territorial integrity, and in accordance with the Law of the Republic of Moldova “On Armed Forces”:

1. Assign to the headquarters under the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of the Republic of Moldova, for the period of carrying out specific operational activities, the leadership of the relevant military units and formations of the armed forces, the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Moldova and the Ministry of National Security of the Republic of Moldova, participating in actions to preserve the territorial integrity and independence of the state.

2. To the Ministry of Defense of the Republic of Moldova:

Together with the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Moldova and the Ministry of National

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the security of the Republic of Moldova to develop and implement a set of measures to protect the state from undisguised armed aggression of units and subdivisions of the 14th combined arms army that went over to the side of the separatist forces; ensure the staffing of military units and subunits in accordance with the established procedure with personnel from among military personnel and reservists.

Be guided by the requirements of paragraph I of the Decree of the President of the Republic of Moldova of April 5, 1992 No. 84 in relation to reservists called up earlier for scheduled training camps.

3. Ministries and state departments of the Republic of Moldova to ensure timely and full implementation of requests from the Ministry of Defense of the Republic of Moldova for the necessary material, technical and financial resources.

4. Recommend to the Prosecutor's Office of the Republic of Moldova to strengthen supervision over the observance by all enterprises, institutions, organizations and citizens of the current legislation of the Republic of Moldova on military issues”.

On May 23, 1992, the press service of the President of the Republic of Moldova stated the following: “Taking advantage of the lack of a clear reaction of the leadership of the Russian Federation to the involvement of its military units in open actions against the Republic of Moldova, the 14th Army continues to demonstrate its true purpose - occupation. After secretly supplying modern

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weapons and ammunition of illegal separatist paramilitaries and mercenary gangs from Russia, after unsuccessful attempts to self-proclaim a “peacekeeping force”, the occupiers dropped the mask. On the afternoon of May 21, and all last night, and even today, artillery and mortar fire does not stop, which is already being fired at the settlements on the right bank of the Dniester. This led to numerous human casualties among the civilian population.

We inform the world community that the 14th Army of the Russian Federation, with satanic diligence, is fulfilling its real role - the implementation of the Leninist-Stalinist principle of merging nations through the elimination of recalcitrant peoples.

On May 25, Mircea Snegur made a statement at a parliamentary session in which he demanded to solve the problem of Transnistria by military means and declared the presence of Russian troops in the Republic of Moldova a direct aggression on the part of Russia. “From this day forward, we are at war with Russia,” said Mircea Snegur.

On May 23, the press bureau of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Moldova stated: “On March 20 and on the night of March 21, the situation in the entire conflict zone remained alarming. The shelling of the villages of Kochier, Korzhova, Koshnitsa, Dorotskaya and other settlements practically did not stop. The positions of the police forces were repeatedly subjected to massive attacks and shelling from all types of weapons, including

tanks, guns, mortars and rockets. Starting from 5:00 on May 21, shelling resumed.

As a result, it is mainly the civilian population that suffers. A large number of injured and destroyed residential buildings have been registered. One policeman was killed and six were wounded.

The movement and equipping of the positions of the rebels and the 14th army of Russia continues. At 2 am, 27 tanks, 12 armored personnel carriers, 6 Alazan installations followed from Tiraspol through the village of Grigoriopol. On the outskirts of the village of Grigoriopol, 6 tanks, 2 armored personnel carriers, 10 large-caliber guns were installed.

But according to reports received, in the village of Mayak, Grigoriopol district, the radio transmitter is being dismantled and the equipment is being removed to Tiraspol. In Tiraspol, in order to destroy national economic facilities, 500 radio-controlled explosive devices based on large air bombs were prepared.

On May 21, in the morning in the village of Malovata, Alazan rockets fired at a bus with civilians. One woman was killed, six people were injured.”

The whipping up of hysteria was in full swing on both sides.

Upon the return of lieutenant colonel N. and captain V. from near Dubossary to the location of the division, they began to have problems. General Yu.M. Netkachev ordered an investigation into all the officers who arbitrarily departed near Dubossary. The investigation was conducted by the head of the missile troops and artillery of the army, Colonel

“5/7

G.M. Akifiev. It all ended with the fact that documents for dismissal were sent to lieutenant colonel N. and captain V.. Captain A.N. Zimanov and Senior Lieutenant F.F. Chernavsky, who also departed near Cocieri, was left alone, as they died. The dead Russian servicemen were buried throughout Transnistria.

Yu.M. Netkachev experienced the death of officers in his own way. At a meeting dedicated to the analysis of the tragic events, the commander, looking in front of him aloofly, kept repeating the words like a spell: "Forgive me for badly teaching you how to fight and not being able to save you from death. Why should you die for the sake of vague and incomprehensible politics and politicians. We all, each in our own way, experienced the death of our comrades. These were the first combat losses among army officers.

We all wanted to look into the eyes of A.M. Makashov, who provoked the young guys to make such a decision. But, of course, at this moment, Colonel-General A.M. Makashov was no longer in Tiraspol.

On May 25, the Moscow People's Assembly addressed the servicemen of the 14th Army. "The Moscow People's Assembly (a coalition of civil and patriotic forces) appeals to the servicemen of the 14th Army with a request to prevent the destruction of the people of the Pridnestrovian Moldavian Republic, who fell victim to the aggression unleashed by the Chisinau authorities.

The Moscow People's Assembly declares that if the commander of the 14th Army, General Yu.M. Netkachev will not take measures to protect the population of Transnistria, he will be declared a traitor to the Motherland."

What was the 14th Army?

Beginning in the spring of 1992, the newly formed states began to create their own armed forces. Emissaries from various nationalist and political parties of Ukraine and Moldova frequented the 14th Army. They were looking for fellow countrymen officers who were willing to go to serve in the armed forces of Ukraine and Moldova. Many officers were approached with such a proposal. I remember that they came to me from the headquarters of the Odessa military district with an offer to take the post of deputy head of the district's MFA. Later, in 1993, Lieutenant Colonel V. Doncul called from Moldova and offered, if I agreed to go to serve in the armed forces of Moldova, to transfer my eldest son for further studies to any educational institution in Chisinau. My son at that time was in his second year at the Transnistrian University in Tiraspol. In total for 1992-1993. from the Armed Forces of the Russian Federation were seconded to the armies of other states: in particular, Ukraine - 29,137, Moldova - 849 officers and ensigns.

The 14th Army found itself in a very difficult geographical and political situation. Its formations and units were stationed on the territory of Ukraine, Moldova and the Pridnestrovian Moldavian Republic.

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The management of the 14th army was located in the city of Tiraspol (Transnistria).

There were also:

- 59th motorized rifle division (at full strength) (deployed 183rd motorized rifle regiment);
- 15th Army Separate Communications Regiment;
- 36th separate helicopter squadron;
- 1269th command post of the aviation of the Ground Forces;

- 58th separate radio engineering battalion;
- 856th air defense command post;
- 225th and 267th separate repair and restoration battalions of automobile and armored vehicles;
- management of the 5th 154th army repair and restoration base;
- 233rd communication center;
- 14 different divisions and institutions.

The following were stationed in the Bendery garrison:

- 173rd missile brigade of operational-tactical missiles;
- 130th separate chemical protection battalion;
- 785th separate battalion of reconnaissance and serifs of nuclear explosions.

In Parkany there were:

- 976th separate EW battalion "N";
- 2242nd frame of a separate electronic warfare battalion "C";
- 1514th electronic warfare control point;
- 115th separate engineer-sapper battalion.

The 2nd relay-cable battalion was located in Varnitsa.

On the territory of Moldova deployed:

- vg Ungheni - army artillery set of the 14th army, without a reconnaissance artillery regiment;
- in the cities of Balti and Floreshty - the 89th motorized rifle division. The 189th missile brigade of tactical missiles "Tochka-U" was also located in Balti;
- in Markulesti — the 86th Regiment of the 119th Fighter Naval Aviation Division (3 1 MiG-29 aircraft: 7 of them of the 9-12 type and 24 of the 9-13 type). The regiment was part of the Black Sea Fleet.

The following formations and units of the 14th Army were deployed on the territory of Ukraine:

- 180th motorized rifle division in the city of Belgorod-Dnestrovsk;
- the 156th anti-aircraft missile brigade and the 1712th anti-aircraft mobile repair and technical base in the village of Alekseevka;
- 2335th reconnaissance army artillery regiment and 1802nd mobile repair and technical base in the town. Sarat;
- the 287th separate regiment of combat helicopters and the 321st separate squadron of unmanned reconnaissance aircraft in the village of Raukhovka;
- 108th separate radio engineering regiment "OSNAZ" in the village of Sofiyivka;

- 423rd training center in the village of Tarutino.

After the collapse of the USSR, all formations and units of the 14th Army, which were located on the territory of Ukraine, came under the jurisdiction of Ukraine.

Everything that was deployed on the territory of the Republic of Moldova (right bank) came under the jurisdiction of Moldova, with the exception of the 189th tactical missile brigade (Balti) and the 300th airborne regiment of the Bolgrad airborne division (Balti). Kishinev). They legally withdrew to Moldova, but in fact they were commanded by officers of the Russian army.

At one time (in 1990), the Minister of Internal Affairs of the USSR V.V. Bakatin handed over 35 BTR-70s to reinforce the police of the Republic of Moldova.

Having lost everything that was stationed on the territory of Ukraine and Moldova, the 14th Army received under its control formations and units from the Odessa Military District and central subordination, which were located on the territory of the Transnistrian Republic. Who and what was not there!

According to the signature signed by the head of the Main Organizational and Mobilization Directorate of the General Staff, Colonel General M.P. Kolesnikov to the list of associations, formations, military units and institutions of the Armed Forces of the former USSR, located on the territory of the Republic of Moldova, under the jurisdiction of the Russian Federation

moved:

"Ground troops

- management of the 14th Guards. army with support units (Tiraspol);
- 59 motorized rifle division (in full force) (Tiraspol);
- 173 missile brigade of operational-tactical missiles (Bendery);
- 856 air defense command post (Tiraspol);
- 36 separate helicopter squadron (Tiraspol);
- 1464 separate company of communications and radio technical support (Tiraspol);
- 143 separate company of airfield technical support (Tiraspol);
- 1389 command and intelligence center (Tiraspol);
- 818 separate company of Special Forces (Tiraspol);
- 115 separate engineer-sapper battalion (p. Parkany);
- 15th army separate communications regiment (Tiraspol);
- 233 communication center (Tiraspol);
- 657 mob. group (Tiraspol);
- 2143 mob. group (Tiraspol);
- 37 mob. group (Tiraspol);
- 22 mob. group (Tiraspol);

- 21 mob. group (Tiraspol);
- 1538 mob. group (Tiraspol);
- 20 mob. group (Tiraspol);
- 234 personnel of the rear guard division (Tiraspol);
- 58 separate radio engineering battalion (Tiraspol);
- 976 separate EW battalion "N" (p. Parkany);
- 2242 personnel of a separate electronic warfare battalion "S" (village of Parkany);
- 1727 BTI warehouse (Tiraspol);
- Department 51 of the 54th army repair and restoration base (Tiraspol);
- 80 military tribunal (Tiraspol);
- 70th military prosecutor's office (Tiraspol);
- military commandant's office of the garrison (Tiraspol);
- 1269 command post of the aviation of the Ground Forces (Tiraspol);
- 114 meteorological bureaus (Tiraspol);
- fire protection service of the garrison (Tiraspol);
- 1411 artillery ammunition depot (Kolbasnoye village);
- 380 mobile repair and technical base (prtb) (Kolbasnoye village);
- frame 632 of a separate missile and park division (Kolbasnoye village);
- 386 service station (Tiraspol);
- 223 separate repair and restoration battalion of armored vehicles (Tiraspol);
- 267 separate repair and restoration battalion of automotive equipment (Tiraspol);
- personnel of the 236th mobile repair plant of the management personnel of the 5146th repair and restoration base (Tiraspol);
- frame 114 of the repair and restoration regiment (Tiraspol);
- 237th engineer brigade (with equipment to form two more similar brigades) (Dubossary);
- 240th pontoon-bridge brigade (with equipment to form two more similar brigades) (Rybnitsa);
- house of officers of the garrison (Tiraspol);
- editorial office, publishing house and printing house of the newspaper (Tiraspol);
- 2 pontoon-bridge regiment (Bender);
- 785 separate battalion for detecting nuclear explosions (Bendery);

- 130th separate chemical protection battalion (Bendery);
- 16th training center of chemical troops (Bendery);
- 2 separate radio-relay-cable battalion (village of Varnitsa);
- 778 CARZ (Central Automobile Repair Plant) (Bendery);
- 1833 engineering warehouse (Tiraspol);
- 799th military fire protection and rescue team (Tiraspol);
- 905 separate technical platoon (Tiraspol);

Air Force - 5 separate long-range reconnaissance aviation squadron (Tiraspol);

- 4 separate company of airfield technical support (Tiraspol);
- 461 oxygen producing stations (a) (Tiras-POL);
- 1173 separate communications and radio engineering support company (Tiraspol);
- 24 separate engineering and airfield battalion (Tiraspol);
- 301 separate battalion of automated control (Tiraspol);
- 944 communication and radio technical support center (Tiraspol);
- 232 aviation commandant's office (Tiraspol);

Navy

- Command of the 119th Naval Fighter Aviation Division with support and security units (Tiraspol);
- 86 Marine Fighter Aviation Regiment with support and security units (Markulesti);
- 819 security department (Tiraspol);
- 1948 aviation repair and technical base (Tiraspol);
- 1067 separate communications battalion (Tiraspol);
- 849 mobile aviation repair shop (Tiraspol);

Logistics of the Allied Armed Forces — personnel of the 93rd Abrmo Department (Army brigade of material support) (Tiraspol);

- commandant's office VOSO railway station. Tiraspol;
- 1155 veterinary warehouse (Tiraspol);
- 101 military department (Tiraspol);
- 2491 food warehouses with 1006 fire brigade and 1540 guard guard team (Tiraspol);

- 3454 fuel depot with 1009 fire brigade (Bender);
- 21 repair shops of the fuel service (Bendery);
- 884 military epidemic detachment (Bendery);
- frame of the 7th dkbr (road commandant brigade with a guard guard group, Tiraspol);
- 929 RTMO;

Units and institutions of the medical service - 170 military hospital (Tiraspol); - 183 medical depot (Tiraspol);

Connections and parts of the GRU

- 86 separate radio center "OSNAZ" (Slobodzeya village);
- 1189 reconnaissance point (village of Slobodzeya);
- 1395 command and intelligence center (Tiras-POL);

Parts of the VTU - 108 topographic part (Tiraspol);

Part 9 of the Central Administration - 1203 Directorate of the Special Object (Tiras Paul);

Construction and apartment bodies

- Tiraspol apartment-operational part of the district (Tiraspol);
- 314 adjustment works department (Tiraspol);
- 852 military construction detachment (Tiraspol);
- 615, 619, 4217, 4216, 4224, 4225 construction and assembly sites (Tiraspol);
- 319 automobile base (Tiraspol);
- 4236, 4241 construction sites (Tiraspol);
- 1805 production and technological equipment section (Tiraspol);
- 1178 security department (Tiraspol);

Military missions - 5235 and 4442 military missions.

A civil defense regiment was stationed in the village of Kocieri (it was subordinate to the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of the CIS).

In total, the 14th Army turned out to have 89 diverse and motley formations and units, many of which could hardly be classified as combat units.

This state of affairs later became one of the factors that actively influenced the course of the conflict and the reform of the 14th Army after it ended.

Section AND CHRONICLE OF THE CONFLICT

By the summer of 1992, hostilities between the left and right banks reached a dead end. The fighting in the Dubossar direction has somewhat subsided. The front has stabilized.

Statement of the President of the Republic of Moldova Mircea Snegur and his team (Alexander Mosanu - Chairman of the Parliament of Moldova, Valeriu Muravschi - Deputy Prime Minister, Ion Costas - Minister of Defense, Anatol Plugaru - Minister of National Security, Constantin Antoch - Minister of Internal Affairs, Mir- Cha Druk - Prime Minister) looked very shaky. For them, a peaceful development of events meant, at a minimum, a political collapse.

Here is a brief description of the ruling elite of the Republic of Moldova:

Mircea Snegur was born on January 17, 1940 in the Floresti region, a Moldavian. In 1960 he graduated from the Kishinev Agricultural Institute. Candidate of Agricultural Sciences. At the age of 23 he became the chairman of the collective farm. He worked as the director of the Research Institute of Field Crops, the general director of the NGO "Seleksia" in Balti. From help

Report MSSR Demidenko dated May 11, 1987: "There were facts of malpractice in the Moldovan Research Institute of Field Crops. In particular, Snegur M.I. for a long time illegally received a salary at the institute. During the combined work (January 1982 - September 1984) Snegur was credited with 5033 rubles. After the intervention of the procurator's office, Snegur returned the received amounts to the institute's cash desk. From 1981 to 1985 he was the first secretary of the Edinet District Party Committee. Since 1985, he was the secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party for agriculture. Member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Moldova. In 1989 he was elected chairman of the presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the MSSR. Since 1991 - President of the Republic of Moldova. In March 1991, Snegur announced his withdrawal from the CPSU.

Alexander Moshanu was born in 1932 in the Riscani region, a Moldavian. Graduated from the Faculty of History of the Chisinau State University. He was engaged in scientific and teaching activities. 1957-1976 - worked at the Academy of Sciences of the MSSR; 1976-1990 - Worked at the University of Chisinau. Doctor of historical sciences, professor. Honorary Member of the Romanian Academy of Sciences. In February 1990, he was elected chairman of the Supreme Council of the Republic of Moldova. He published about a hundred works on the issues of modern and recent history of foreign countries, on the history of Romania and Moldova.

Ion Costas was born in 1944 in the village of Tsarigrad, Drochia region, a Moldavian. For eight years (1949-1957) he lived in Kazakhstan with you

by her parents (her father got 25 years as a fascist accomplice). The younger brother served 10 years for killing his own wife and injuring his children. In 1967 he graduated from the Kharkov Higher Military Aviation School. He graduated from the Air Force Academy and the Academy of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. In the Armed Forces of the USSR, he rose to the rank of Deputy Commander of Aviation - Chief of Aviation Staff of the Combined Arms Army. 1985-1990 Chairman of the Central Committee of the DOSAAF MSSR. In 1990, chairman of the commission of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR on state security and military issues. In 1990-1992. Minister of the Interior of the Republic of Moldova Since 1992 Minister of Defense of the Republic of Moldova. From the attestation characteristics of the chairman of the Central Committee of the DOSAAF of the Moldavian SSR in 1986 "He proved to be politically mature ... conscientious, demanding of himself and his subordinates, disciplined, persistent and principled leader ... From party positions he solves issues of selection and placement DOSAAF cadres... In his work he relies on party organizations... He was a delegate of the XUP congress of the Communist Party of Moldova... By nature, honest, strong-willed, simple, modest, sociable, fair to people... Ideologically sustained, morally stable. He is devoted to the cause of the CPSU and the Soviet Motherland."

"... I am entirely on the platform of the Central Committee of the CPSU on the national question" (from an interview with I. Kostash to the newspaper "Soviet Patriot", February 1990). Further, as they say, no comment.

Anatol Plugaru was born in 1951 in the Floresti region, a Moldavian. Graduated from the Faculty of Law of the University of Chisinau. From 1975 to 1987 worked in the internal affairs bodies. In 1987-1989. — Deputy Head of the Department of Administrative Bodies of the Central Committee of the CPM. He left the Central Committee for certification due to inconsistency with his position. Then, for a short time, he worked as deputy head of the private security department of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, in 1989-1990. - Deputy, then Chairman of the TVET of the Union of Cinematographers. Was excluded from

KPM, then restored. In September 1991, having headed the Ministry of National Security, he retained the KGB structure engaged in political investigation and combating "ideologically hostile influences". Organizer of terrorist groups operating in Transnistria. After the events of the summer of 1992, he was removed from his post "in connection with the transition to diplomatic work."

Mircea Georgievich Druk was born on May 27, 1941 in the village of Pociumbauti, Riscani district, a Moldavian. In 1964 he graduated from the Leningrad State University. Worked as referent-translator, airport dispatcher. Since 1970 - post-graduate student, then junior researcher at the Institute of Latin America, USSR Academy of Sciences. In 1972-1975. — Chief Specialist of the Center for Scientific Organization of Labor and Production Management of the Moldavian SSR. From 1975 to 1981 he worked in Moscow as a senior engineer at the Center for Control Problems of Moscow State University, a senior research fellow,

the head of the sector of the technical department of the production association. From 1981 to 1986 he worked in the city of Chernivtsi, Ukrainian SSR. Since 1986 he worked in Moldova. From May to June 1990 - Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Moldavian SSR. In July 1990 - February 1991 Prime Minister of the SSR Moldova. In 1989-1991. one of the organizers and leaders of the Popular Front of Moldova. In 1992 - Chairman of the Christian Democratic Popular Front of Moldova. In June 1992, he took Romanian citizenship.

Chronicle of events. | June, part of the deputies of the Parliament of the Republic of Moldova (centrists) arrived in Tiraspol for negotiations on the settlement of the conflict. 40 deputies from Pridnestrovie came to Chisinau for the same purpose to work in the Parliament of Moldova.

However, armed provocations continued despite ongoing negotiations to resolve the conflict.

On the night of June 4-5, in the Dubossary region, along the entire line of defense of the guards of Transnistria, Moldovan armed formations fired intense artillery fire.

On June 7, the Moldovan side fired at the dam of the Dubossar hydroelectric power station. One transformer was broken, the oil from which leaked into the Dniester.

On June 10, in the center of the city of Tiraspol, a detachment of guards was fired from a passing car. There were dead and wounded.

On June 15, hostilities resumed on positions near the village of Rogi. Again killed and wounded.

At the sessions of the Parliament of the Republic of Moldova, the demand for the resignation of the President and his inner circle was heard more and more insistently. The majority of the population of the republic reacted extremely negatively to the provoked conflict on the Dniester. In this situation, 176 deputies supported the early dissolution of the parliament and the resignation of the president. On June 18, the Moldovan Parliament was forced to adopt a resolution on the "Basic Principles for the Settlement of the Conflict and Ending the War", in which the main principle was the peaceful settlement of the conflict.

But such a change in the situation was not part of the plans of Mircea Snegur and his team. The situation at the front also began to get out of their control. The second battalion of the third police brigade, which fought near Dubossary, unexpectedly for the president and government of the Republic of Moldova refused to fight. The personnel of the battalion, already rather exhausted by the war and losses, declared that until they were given guarantees that Moldova would never be annexed to Romania, they would not fight.

Obviously, it was during these days from 3 to 18 June that the idea of further escalation of the war was finally formed in the minds of the ruling elite of Moldova. Only a new outbreak of war was a chance for them to stay in power. President Mircea Snegur, without taking into account the opinion of Parliament, by a special order of 23 May

1992, under the pretext of "ensuring the territorial integrity" of the republic, transfers to the Ministry of Defense all the forces of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Ministry of National Security. Thus, the frontist Ion Kostash becomes the main one in the power bloc. And only a new outbreak of war was for them the last chance to stay in power.

Until May 1992, all the efforts of the leadership of Chisinau were aimed at capturing the city of Dubossary and dividing the PMR into two parts. However, by mid-May, the situation in the Koshnitsky and Kochiersky bridgeheads began to take shape not in favor of Chisinau, especially after the armored groups of the 14th Army approached there. Chisinau failed to implement its original plan to destroy Transnistria.

In June, a second attempt was made to suppress the "separatists". To do this, one does not need to be a great strategist to choose Bendery, Kopanka and Varnitsa as targets for the main strike. Firstly, the settlements located on the right bank of the Dniester did not have such a natural line of defense as the river. Secondly, in such a "forked" city as Bendery, where the majority of residents voted for the PMR, and the minority supported Chisinau, where both the PMR police and the Moldovan police operated simultaneously, there were authorities of both sides, and the situation itself could not but be explosive. And thirdly, in case of success of the military operation in the Bendery direction of the army

Moldova would have opened the way to Tiraspol, the capital of the rebellious PMR.

Apparently, in Chisinau they decided at first to pacify the recalcitrant citizens on the right bank and, having carried out a kind of blitzkrieg, to disengage from the "separatists" along the Dniester. After that, it would be possible to easily introduce Moldova into Romania and return to the borders of 1940.

By June 1992, three motorized infantry brigades, an artillery brigade, an aviation brigade, an engineer brigade, an anti-aircraft missile brigade, and a communications brigade were formed and more or less trained in the armed forces of the Republic of Moldova.

Each motorized infantry brigade included three motorized infantry battalions, an artillery battalion, an anti-tank battalion and a mortar battery in each motorized infantry battalion.

According to the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Moldova, about 30 thousand combatants, supporters of the statehood of the Republic of Moldova, took part in the war on the Dniester in 1992 (Moldova celebrated the anniversary of the start of the war on the Dniester. MOLDPRES, 02.03.2006).

In addition, on the basis of an agreement between the Commander-in-Chief of the CIS Armed Forces and the Prime Minister of the Republic of Moldova dated November 11, 1990, the following equipment and weapons were transferred to the Republic of Moldova in 1991:

14th Army Artillery Regiment (AAP) consisting of: 2 artillery battalions (ADN) of 152-mm guns 2A36 "Hyacinth" (21 guns) with firing range

27 km, with active rockets - 32 km; 3 artillery battalions of 152 mm D-20 howitzers (32 guns). These artillery systems received 12,000 and 15,000 ammunition, respectively;

803rd army jet regiment (areap) consisting of 3 divisions of 220-mm multiple launch rocket systems 911140 "Hurricane" (29 combat vehicles) with a firing range of 35 km and 2200 pieces of ammunition for them;

952nd Army Anti-Tank Artillery Regiment (aptap) consisting of: 3 divisions of 100-mm MT-12 anti-tank guns (47 guns); 3 divisions of combat vehicles (BM) of anti-tank guided missiles (ATGM) 911149 (27 BM); MTLB-AT - 53 units; BTR-60 PB - 27 units;

part of the anti-tank artillery of the former 89th Motor Rifle Division, which was located in the cities of Balti and Floreshty: 2 batteries (ptbatr) of 100-mm MT-12 anti-tank guns (12 guns) and an anti-tank battery of Konkurs anti-tank guided missiles (9 combat vehicles). The staffing of these units and subunits with weapons and equipment ranged from 85 to 95%, and the availability of ammunition for them was from 7 to 14 combat kits (6.k.) for guns and mortars and 1.5-2.0 b .To. to anti-tank systems;

anti-aircraft missile brigade, which was armed with: anti-aircraft missile systems (SAM) S-200 - 12 launchers; S-75 SAM — 18 launchers; S-125 SAM - 16 launchers;

helicopter detachment (Kishinev), which was armed with helicopters: Mi-8 - 4 units; Mi-9 - 3 units; Mi-24 - 4 units.

In addition, according to army intelligence, by the time of the conflict (in the city of Bender) and in the first 10 days of hostilities from the Republic of Romania to the Republic of Moldova, the following had been delivered to the start of hostilities:

- up to 3 artillery battalions of towed artillery (12 pcs. D-1 152-mm howitzers, 18 pcs. M-30 122-mm howitzers);

- up to 13 mortar batteries (25 pieces of 82-mm and 28 pieces of 120-mm mortars);

- up to the anti-tank division (19 pieces of 85-mm guns).

In the first 10 days of hostilities:

- up to 4 batteries of towed artillery (6 pcs. 122-mm howitzers M-30, 8 pcs. 152-mm howitzers D-1);

- one self-propelled battery (122-mm self-propelled howitzers (agricultural) 4 self-propelled guns);

- one reactive battery (4 pcs. 122-mm rocket launchers BM-21).

Thus, during the conflict, the Armed Forces of the Republic of Moldova had from artillery systems:

- for firing from closed firing positions: up to 140 guns and rocket artillery combat vehicles; up to 55 mortars;

- for direct fire: up to 36 ATGM combat vehicles; up to 70 artillery pieces.

After the announcement of the state of emergency in the Republic of Moldova, artillery units and subunits were 100% staffed with privates and sergeants.

Parts were completed with reservists. Most of them did not burn with a special desire to fight, so the republic adopted a law on criminal liability for evading military service (punishment up to 5 years in prison). Ensigns were appointed to the positions of commanders of platoons and batteries (mainly from technical and economic positions). They were given officer ranks. There is no need to talk about the quality or professional training of such unfortunate commanders of batteries and platoons. The shortage of career officers in the Armed Forces of the Republic of Moldova reached 80%.

Thus, out of 15 commanders of artillery battalions in the Ungheni garrison who served in the Soviet army, two people agreed to continue their careers in the Armed Forces of the Republic of Moldova. This state of affairs with the officers was not only in artillery formations and units. All 48 pilots and most of the technical staff, who had previously served in the aviation regiment in Markulesti, departed to serve in Russia and Ukraine.

The Ministry of Defense of Moldova launched a campaign to recruit pilots of Moldovan nationality who had previously served in the Soviet Air Force. Already in the spring of 1992, the head of this department stated that the Moldovan Air Force was

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believes fourteen trained pilots. At the same time, only four of them had experience flying the MiG-29, these are former officers of the 624th Fighter Aviation Regiment, Major Vitaly Russu, Captain Alexander Daranutsa, senior lieutenants Svyatoslav Neburak and Alexander Popovich. When enlisted in the Moldovan Air Force, they all received a rank one step higher than they had previously.

None of the former officers of the Soviet army wanted to serve the nationalists.

The conscription and training of personnel called up from the reserve was carried out under the guise of training camps at training centers (Bulboaki, Ungheni, Balti) under the guidance of Romanian instructors. To carry out live artillery firing, the personnel of artillery units were taken to training centers located on the territory of Romania.

The preparation for the conduct of hostilities was carried out by the Republic of Moldova secretly. For this purpose, after mobilization, in addition to formations and units of the national army of Moldova, eight more OPON battalions and seven separate police companies (RP) and volunteers were deployed to the probable areas of hostilities after mobilization. At night, ammunition was transported and stored in forests, hangars, quarries, on the territory of churches, field camps along the right bank of the Dniester, and in the area of the villages of Koshnitsa-Pyryta and on the left bank of the Dniester River.

Knowing about their overwhelming superiority (in terms of personnel by 5 times, in terms of guns and mortars by 16 times) over the armed formations of the PMR, as well as having reliable information about the state of the armed forces of Transnistria and being absolutely confident in their impunity (14- the army remained neutral), at the beginning of hostilities, most of the artillery units of the Republic of Moldova were advanced as close as possible to the banks of the Dniester.

Such actions were explained by the fact that the excess of the right bank over the left by 80-100 meters made it possible to fire with semi-direct fire. The latter is much simpler than shooting from closed firing positions. This to some extent compensated for the poor training of the Moldavian artillerymen.

At the beginning of the conflict (until June 19), the PMR armed formations had from artillery:

- two batteries of 100-mm anti-aircraft guns KS-19 (10 guns without firing tables);
- two batteries of 85-mm guns D-44 (8 pieces);
- one 122-mm D-30 howitzer;
- three homemade mortar batteries (eight 82-mm mortars without sights);
- self-made hail-breaking frames and installations of the Alazan type.

Thus, as of June 19, the TMR Armed Forces had 33 combat-ready guns and mortars for firing from closed firing positions.

positions, which were significantly inferior to the enemy artillery both in range and in accuracy of fire. There was practically no ammunition for them.

All artillery of the PMR as of June 19 was in the Dubossary direction.

In addition, on the territory of the PMR in the artillery units and subdivisions of the 59th Motor Rifle Division were deployed, i.e. staffed by 50%:

— in the 183rd MRP: a self-propelled artillery battery of 122-mm howitzers 2S1 (4 guns), a mortar battery of 120-mm 2S12 (4 pieces) and 4 combat vehicles of anti-tank guided missiles "Konkurs" from the anti-tank battery ;

- in the 328th SAP battery 152-mm s / t G 2S3 (4 guns).

On June 19, the Armed Forces of Moldova started fighting. Five battalions (of which two OPON battalions), one artillery battalion, three separate artillery, two anti-tank and three mortar batteries attacked the city of Bendery from the north and south. A total of 2300-2500 personnel and 56 pieces of artillery systems.

Three battalions (including two OPON), two artillery battalions, one Grad rocket battery, one anti-tank and one mortar battery participated in the Kitskano-Slobodzeya direction from the Moldovan side. A total of 1300-1500 personnel and up to 60 pieces of artillery.

Three battalions, one police detachment, one artillery were concentrated in the Rybnitsa direction.

battery. A total of 900-1200 people and up to 40 pieces of artillery and armored vehicles.

There were five battalions (one OPON), three police detachments, one artillery and one anti-tank battalions, one artillery and three mortar batteries in the Koshnitsky and Kochiersky directions. A total of 3200-3800 people and up to 74 artillery systems (see Appendix 1).

June 19. Friday. Graduations were held in schools. I came home early. Today is my wife's birthday. As soon as we sat down at the festive table, the operational duty officer called and gave the command to come to the headquarters. Next time I came home only through month.

All the deputy commanders, heads of military branches and services, heads of departments gathered in the Military Council hall. General Yu.M. Netkachev. He was confused and depressed.

From the direction of the city of Bendery and the village of Kopanka, the sounds of automatic and machine-gun bursts, shell explosions were heard. Stayed up all night without a break. The commander constantly went out to call somewhere, but neither the Chief of the General Staff, nor the Minister of Defense, nor the President of the Russian Federation was there. He himself could not make any decisions without a team. All proposals that came from the chiefs of military branches and services remained unanswered. The team from Netkachev was one - nothing

interfere.

And in Bendery events unfolded as follows. At 4 pm, a car of the Pridnestrovian Guard drove up to the city printing house, in which there were Major I. Ermakov, warrant officer Yu. Grekul, private Kulakov and driver N. Ryabokon. Two of the arrivals went to the printing house to pick up leaflets. At this time, 10 police officers from Moldova attacked the people who remained in the car. The captured guards were dragged inside the printing house. The Pridnestrovian police hastened to help the guardsmen. They opened fire from machine guns. A shootout ensued.

Each side started asking for help. Police officers and volunteers from the village of Varnitsa arrived at the city police department. The guardsmen of the 2nd battalion of the Transnistrian guard lieutenant colonel Yu.A. hurried to the aid of the Transnistrian police. Kostenko.

On the figure of Lieutenant Colonel Yu.A. Kostenko should dwell separately and in more detail. Afghan, order bearer. Dismissed from the ranks of the Soviet army for misdeeds incompatible with the high rank of an officer. In 1986, a criminal case was initiated on the fact of abuse of official position (beating of subordinates) and illegal hunting. The case was dismissed by a call from Moscow. In 1988, a new criminal case was opened in connection with the commission of a car accident while intoxicated. By the fall, he is discharged into the reserve due to illness. The conclusion of the military medical commission of July 3, 1989 Diagnosis - the consequences of repeated closed brain injuries with astheno

neurological syndrome. Eligible for out-of-service service in peacetime, limited serviceability of the first degree in wartime.

Under pressure from the public of the city of Bendery (Council of Labor Collectives) and the Women's Strike Committee, Kostenko was appointed commander of the guard battalion. After his appointment, he considered himself indispensable and, having a "roof" in the face of the security service and in the leadership of Transnistria, he did everything in the territory of the city of Bender that he wanted.

Here is what the chairman of the city executive committee V.V. Kogut: "I can't say that the executive committee did not know about his crimes, they simply treated him opportunistically. I must admit that I also defended Kostenko at the Defense Committee, although later I told him to his face that in time the court would figure out what he had done and whose instructions he was following. When information about his affairs began to reach me, I informed those who were supposed to do this, but I soon became convinced that all my messages also got to Kostenko.

On April 29, the prosecutor of the republic hands over to President I.N. Smirnov information, which on two and a half pages describes in detail all the crimes committed by Kostenko, proven at that time, and asks to take measures to detain the battalion commander.

Kostenko understood perfectly well that sooner or later he would have to answer for his crimes and the best way out of this situation would be an armed incident that would provoke an armed counterattack.

stand between the warring parties. According to one version, it was the people of Yu.A. Kostenko was provoked on June 19 by a massacre in Bendery.

The fact that someone else was behind him, and this "someone" was not simple, does not raise the slightest doubt. Too much he was allowed and forgiven. Even after the prosecutor of the republic B.A. Luchik issued a decision on his arrest, the local authorities did not dare to arrest him themselves, but turned to A.I. for help. Lebed. It is always more convenient to rake the heat with someone else's hands.

A.I. Lebed called the operation to detain Yu.A. Kostenko one of the most unsuccessful operations in his military career. It would seem that everything was planned and foreseen to the smallest detail. But one factor was not taken into account, the factor of the betrayal of the leadership of Transnistria. Kostenko knew the time of the operation and left the location of the battalion a few hours before it began. But the plan to arrest Yu.A. Kostenko was discussed by A.I. Lebed with I.N. Smirnov, G.S. Passion fruit and B.A. Luchik.

Apparently, the interests of Yu.A. Kostenko and the interests of the leadership of Transnistria coincided in some way. Kostenko knew too much about what and how the leadership of the PMR did to create an independent republic.

An attempt to detain the battalion commander did not lead to anything. He was needed by many at that moment and knew a lot about those in power. And in general, how and under what circumstance

battalion commander Yu.A. Kostenko, still remains a mystery. One thing can be said with certainty - his death was very beneficial to the leadership of the PMR.

The unfolding events in the area of the printing house were a good reason for bringing the police and the national army of the Republic of Moldova into the city of Bendery.

The mechanism for attacking the city, which was debugged in advance, was launched, and there was no way to return back.

The fact that the leadership of Moldova was preparing for this action in advance is evidenced by the following facts. On June 19, those who knew about the operation urgently left the city. From kindergarten No. 22, the police urgently took their children. Workers and employees of enterprises, who are members of the Christian Democratic People's Front (HDPF), left their jobs in groups and left the city with their families. Deputy Minister of Internal Affairs of Moldova Katazh, despite the urgent request of the chairman of the City Council V.V. Koguta to stay in the city and take part in the work of the mixed commission, referring to employment, urgently left the city.

At 5:30 pm, exactly one and a half hours after the start of the shootout near the printing house, Moldovan troops advanced on the city from Chisinau and Causeni.

Chairman of the Executive Committee of the City Council V.V. Kogut tried to get through to Mircea Snegur or at least to someone from the leadership of Moldova. But all the leaders of Chisinau suddenly disappeared somewhere, although they were on their own.

workplaces.

I got through only to the Minister of Internal Affairs of Moldova, Constantin Antocha. He replied: "People are dying in the police, and the civilian population will not understand me. I have to protect them."

To the question of the special correspondent of the Izvestia newspaper Valery Yakov, whether it was possible to avoid the entry of troops into Bendery, which led to hundreds of casualties among the civilian population, was answered by Senior Assistant to the Minister of Defense Nikolai Turtureanu, Minister of Defense of Moldova Ion Costas from an interview refused.

"- No. In Bendery, there was a real threat of physical destruction by the guardsmen and Cossacks of the employees of the city police department, subordinate not to Transnistria, but to the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Moldova. Therefore, the republican headquarters for the restoration of law and order in the Left Bank made the only right decision - to send additional forces to Bendery. According to Turtureanu, the operation was developed quickly from the point of view of military art, carried out with the highest professionalism - the city was taken in a few hours with only two wounded from the side of the republican troops.

— Was it possible not to bring armored vehicles into the city and not open fire on the streets from cannons and grenade launchers?

— No, while the special police brigade was clearing the city, the Republican troops were supposed to cover Bender from Tiraspol and neutralize the armored vehicles of the guards and Cossacks. But here to

the 14th Army deliberately violated its neutrality and threw tanks into the breakthrough, which opened indiscriminate fire, resulting in numerous casualties.

And here is what Lieutenant Colonel Viktor Guslyakov, Commissioner of Police Bender, answered the question about the participation of the 14th Army in these hostilities: "What kind of aggression of the 14th Army are we talking about? I personally reported by telephone to President Snegur that the military units of the CIS located in Bendery did not take part in the hostilities, but I have information, believe me, reliable" (Bendery. Strange war. Izvestia) , June 29, 1992).

From the side of the village of Suvorovo, armored vehicles and vehicles with personnel went to the city. The soldiers had white armbands on their helmets and on their sleeves. Artillery guns began to fire from the area of Suvorovskaya Gora. The first shells flew into the city.

From the direction of the village of Protyagailovka, from the area of the poultry farm, howitzers and mortars opened fire on the city. 2 armored personnel carriers and 8 vehicles with soldiers, boys aged 18-19, arrived. Guardsmen of the PMR on BATs (a large artillery tractor, sheathed in iron) attacked the armored personnel carriers and captured them. The Moldavian soldiers fled out of fear towards the Gerbovetsky forest.

By rail, an electric diesel engine approached the Bendery station. From it landed up to 100 people with white bandages on their sleeves. The group split into two parts: one moved towards the bridge across the Dniester, and the other towards the Bendery-1 railway station, firing continuously from machine guns.

By 19 o'clock the battalion of Yu.A. was blocked in the barracks. Kostenko.

At 19:30, a column of Moldovan troops approached the fortress from the side of the village of Varnitsa, consisting of: 2 buses, 2 infantry fighting vehicles (IFVs), 20 multi-purpose light armored tractors (MTLB) and armored personnel carriers, 2 artillery batteries of six 100 -mm cannons and a mortar battery of six mortars.

At 20:00, members of the city defense council and the executive committee gathered in the city council. It was decided to raise the inhabitants of the city to his defense. But it was Friday, and the gathering of the city's residents was very difficult. Most of them were at school for graduation parties, at summer cottages outside the city.

In accordance with the latest, April, ceasefire agreement, all weapons were in the barracks of Yu.A. Kostenko. Only employees of the machine-building and experimental repair plants could get it.

At 21 o'clock in the area of the city council, a battle broke out between the Cossacks (31 people who managed to break through the bridge from Tiraspol), a detachment of workers from the Pribor plant (40 people) and Moldovan troops. In addition to machine guns, the Cossacks had 5 grenade launchers and 15 grenades for them. In total, the city executive committee was defended by 96 people.

Military observers from Russia, Ukraine, Moldova and Romania, who were in the building of the executive committee of the city council, said that they would inform their leadership about the ongoing events, and since the military

actions prevent them from fulfilling their duties, they are forced to leave their posts.

Russian and Ukrainian observers were evacuated to Tiraspol by representatives of the 14th Army. 40 military observers from Moldova and 26 from Romania turned out to be useless. They were simply forgotten about. For several days they were under fire in a hotel on the banks of the Dniester without water, food or light.

The military observer from Moldova, Vladimir Reu, took care of them. On June 17, he left Bender for a short vacation. First of all, he applied to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the republic, but they did not accept him there. Viktor Berlinski, Chairman of the Standing Commission of the Parliament on Combating Crime, replied: "This is Kostash's case". Minister of the Interior Konstantin Antoch said that they no longer shoot at Bendery, go and pick up your observers. Kostash stated that he was well aware of the situation with the observers and that he intended to contact them again by phone.

Only thanks to the joint actions of all the parties concerned (from the 14th Army - General N.P. Garidov, from Romania - Colonel Botezacu, from Moldova, Major Coric) by 18:00 on June 23, military observers were able to be taken out of Bendery.

At the same time (at about 21:00 on June 19), the duty officer of the 173rd missile brigade, which was located in the Bendery fortress, received a phone call from the Deputy Minister of Defense of the Republic of Moldova, General Tudor Dabizha, and said: "If within an hour from the territory

Pridnestrovians will not leave the fortress, fire will be opened on the fortress.” Head of Staff of the Missile Brigade, Colonel E.I. Goncharuk (at that time he was acting as commander) reported to Yu.M. Netkachev environment. Netkachev gave the order not to interfere in anything. Apparently, the same call was made to the operational duty officer of the 2nd pontoon-bridge regiment. Two hours later, shells began to burst on the territory of the regiment and the brigade. First, a warehouse of fuels and lubricants (POL) caught fire on the territory of the pontoon-bridge regiment. Soon the fuel and lubricants warehouse caught fire in the brigade. One shell hit the storage with equipment and destroyed two cars.

At 00:20 on June 20, a battle was going on on the bridge across the Dniester River, and a convoy of Moldovan armored personnel carriers entered Bendery from Chisinau. At 1 a.m., a Moldavian battery of 100-mm MT-12 guns deployed in the area of the Floare shoe factory and opened fire on the city.

At about 3 o'clock in the morning the bridge over the river. The Dniester was captured by the Moldavian army. In the area of the bridge there were 250 people from the Armed Forces of the Republic of Moldova. The bridge itself was seized by 60 people. At the exit from Bender towards Tiraspol, a Moldavian battery of 100-mm MT-12 guns (4 pieces) was deployed in front of the bridge.

By morning, tanks with fuel and wagons with timber at the Bendery-1 railway station caught fire from the fire of Moldovan artillery. (There are many

wagons with oil products, gas tanks.) Soon, the Moldovan units captured the buildings of the Bendery-1 station and Zhilsotsbank.

At about 8 o'clock in the morning, the battle broke out again for the building of the city council and the barracks of the battalion of the Transnistrian guards. From 10 o'clock in the morning the Moldavian artillery fired on the city.

By 12 noon, four pockets of resistance appeared in the city:

- the barracks of the blockaded battalion of the guards Kostenko. About 300 people gathered here and there were two captured armored personnel carriers, one Alazan installation, one self-made 82-mm mortar;
- city executive committee. It was defended by 96 people;
- a fortress in which there were Cossacks, militiamen and policemen who had taken refuge there;
- the military camp of the chemical protection battalion, in which the defenders of the city were also located.

According to the deputy chairman of the executive committee, K. Karanov, it was very difficult to direct the fighting because they broke up into a lot of street fights and local skirmishes.

At this time, at the headquarters of the 14th Army under the leadership of Major General Yu.M. Netkachev, there were absolutely useless meetings.

On the morning of June 20, President of the Republic of Moldova Mircea Snegur, speaking on Moldovan television, said literally the following: “Dear fellow citizens!

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Yesterday, immediately after the completion of the work of the mixed commission of the Parliament of the Republic of Moldova on the suspension of the armed conflict in Transnistria, separatist guards opened fire on the police department in the city of Bendery. The police, who had been terrorized in recent days, many were tortured and then killed, could no longer withstand such actions of the guards and returned fire, demanding help. Such assistance has been provided, and the constitutional order is currently being restored in the city of Bender.” At the same time, he assured everyone that nothing terrible was happening in Bendery, Kitskany and Kopanka.

On June 20, at noon, I went to the training center of the 59th Motor Rifle Division, from where the sounds of gun shots could be heard.

On the territory of the training center, near the forest belt, Lieutenant Colonel N. and Major V. independently removed a battery of 122-mm agricultural G 2S1 "Gvozdika" and opened fire, destroying the concentration of manpower and equipment in the area of the TV tower (Gerbovetsky forest) and near traffic police post on the Chisinau-Bendery highway.

To my question: "Who gave the command to open fire?" Lieutenant Colonel N. answered: "The house of my parents in Bendery has already been burned down. So let's all go..." To which I replied: "Well, we will work together at our own peril and risk" and went to the commander of the 328th self-propelled artillery regiment (sap), Lieutenant Colonel M., in order to move another battery to firing positions.

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At about 12 o'clock, the Cossacks and guards of the PMR made the first attempt to break through the bridge to help the encircled Cossacks in the city council and the guards in the barracks of the 2nd battalion.

Two tanks went on the attack, the Cossacks and a group from the Delta battalion. Initially, there were three tanks, but the Pridnestrovians could not complete the crew for the third tank, since there was only one driver. This attack was supported by fire from the mortar battery of the 183rd MSP. The enemy repelled the attack, and one Pridnestrovian tank was hit. The tank was knocked out by an anti-tank battery of 100-mm MT-12 guns, which was deployed behind the bridge.

The flaming tank moved back to the viaduct under the railroad tracks near the village of Parkany. The crew of the wrecked tank moved to the tank where there was no crew and went on the attack again. Unfortunately, I do not know the name of the commander of the wrecked tank, who, together with the crew, moved from the wrecked one to another tank and again went into battle. But they were real heroes.

By 4 p.m., an artillery battery, a 152-mm self-propelled howitzer 2S3 "Akatsiya" of the 328th SAP, under the command of Lieutenant Colonel V.

By the same time, a second attempt was made to capture the bridge across the Dniester River.

Batteries under the command of N. and V. suppressed the enemy anti-tank battery and provided fire for the advance of the Cossacks and guards.

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Three tanks, an armored personnel carrier and a Shilka self-propelled anti-aircraft gun went on the attack. One of the tanks stalled in front of the bridge, the second was knocked out near the traffic police post with a grenade launcher, and only the third tank, together with an armored personnel carrier, broke through to the city executive committee.

The Cossacks, militia, militias, as well as officers and soldiers of the missile brigade, who settled in the fortress and the town of the chemical defense battalion, supported the advancing guards with fire by striking the enemy flank.

By 18 o'clock the Cossacks, militia and volunteers broke through to the executive committee of the city council. The enemy lost only 80 people killed. 11 units of armored vehicles were hit. Trophies were also captured: 4 MT-12 guns, 2 Konkurs ATGM combat vehicles, 1 BRDM, 2 MTLB, 2 ZSU-23 twin anti-aircraft guns, 2 KamAZ vehicles with weapons and ammunition.

A tank and an armored personnel carrier that broke through to the city executive committee caused panic among the units of the national army of Moldova and OPON. Russian symbols were painted on the advancing tank and armored personnel carrier, and everyone thought that the 14th Army had begun to take part in the hostilities. A disorderly retreat of the Moldavian units from the city began.

Almost the entire center was liberated. By the morning of June 21, Moldovan units controlled only two Bender microdistricts and the suburban village of Varnitsa.

But since no one controlled anyone and everyone acted on his own, then in the ranks of the victors there was complete confusion. The enemy, working on the same

frequencies, as the armed formations of the PMR, issued a false command: "All reinforcements return to their original positions." While they were sorting out who gave such an order, the equipment that had broken through to the city center had already withdrawn from their positions. When it was returned to its original places, the initiative was lost.

In the afternoon (at 4:10 pm) the battery of the 328th SAP destroyed an OPON observation post north of the village of Varnitsa.

After 5 p.m. I was summoned by Yu.M. Netkachev. In his office were I.N. Smirnov and G.S. Marakuts, as well as the deputy head of the operational department of the army, Colonel R.V. Kim and Colonel V.A. CO-PYLOV.

Smirnov and Marakutsa begged Netkachev to intervene in what was happening. Passionfruit shouted in despair: "If you want, I will kneel before you." Netkachev grabbed the phones, tried to get through somewhere, but all attempts were in vain, he was confused and twitchy and really did not know what to do in such an environment.

I know Yu.M. Netkachev since the days of his service in the Far Eastern Military District, when he was the commander of the 27th training tank division (TD), which was stationed in the city of Zavitsinsk. At that time, the 27th UTD was just being formed. The division was fully staffed with people, equipment and thrown almost into the open field. Families of officers, cadets of training units lived in open fields in tents. Winter in the Amur region

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the temperature reaches -35 degrees and the wind blows, penetrating to the bones. Yes, and in summer +35 degrees, no water, a constant threat of dysentery and jaundice.

The task facing the division was very simple, but at the same time very difficult. Without interrupting the educational process, build housing for the families of officers and barracks for cadets, build parks for two sets of equipment, training fields and create the entire educational and material base. At that time, I was the deputy head of the combat training department of the missile and artillery department of the district, and we often came to the division with checks and for the final exams of cadets. In these difficult conditions, Yu.M. Netkachev equipped the division without reducing the quality of training of cadets. He, as an experienced leader and commander, was sent to study at the Academy of the General Staff.

In Zavitsinsk, he successfully coped with the task. But there were peacetime tasks, there he knew what to do. If something did not work out in the work, he was always corrected by senior bosses. Here he found himself absolutely alone in such an environment, when it was necessary to make decisions himself, on which the lives of subordinates and civilians depended. I had to fight on my own territory against my own people, with whom they lived in peace and harmony for 75 years. The leadership of the USSR, and later Russia itself, did not know what to do, and it was probably not so difficult to get lost in such an environment.

But back to current events. Seeing me, the commander began to shout: "Who is shooting at the training center?" I answered: "Yes, the Moldovans are shooting. There have already been several explosions at the range." At that time, shots from the batteries of Lieutenant Colonels N. and V.

Netkachev: "And who is shooting?"

Passion fruit, who was already aware of what was happening, replied: "Yes, this is how your air conditioners work."

Netkachev ordered Lieutenant Colonel Kopylov: "Turn off the air conditioners."

Kopylov turned it off. There was silence, which coincided in time with a break in the shooting. For five minutes no shots were heard.

Passion fruit told Kopylov: "Turn on the air conditioners, it's very hot." As soon as Kopylov turned on the air conditioners, the sounds of shots were heard again from the side of the training center, but Netkachev did not react to them.

Smirnov and Marakutsa asked Netkachev to give a command to return fire and transfer equipment. The army commander answered: "I can't do it without a command. We are not involved in the conflict."

Smirnov: "Who can give the command?"

Netkachev: "Minister of Defense or President."

At that time, the operational duty officer of the army called and reported: in the park zone of the division to the mined approaches to the storage facilities with tanks, a crowd of women and Cossacks, led by G.S. Andreeva was driven by bulldozers.

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A little more and they will start clearing mines. General Yu.M. Netkachev, addressing Kim and me, said: "You are free."

We went to the reception. I jokingly say: "Ruslan, if there is no one, then at least give the command to open fire." To which he replied: "Yes, you don't need a team anyway."

Under the pressure of the circumstances, Yu.M. Netkachev was forced to hand over 10 tanks to the Pridnestrovians, albeit from a combat training group. On the same day, the TMR was handed over: BTR-70 - 29 units; BMP-2K; 21 cars; ZSU-23-4; ZSU-23-2 - 12 units. (anti-aircraft twin installations). Transferred fuel and lubricants: A-93 - 4250 kg; A-76 — 20,522 kg, diesel fuel — 16,102 kg Military property worth 2,195,107 rubles was stolen from the warehouses of army aviation.

In the period from June 20 to June 25, everyone, starting from I.N. Smirnova to G.S. Andreeva, pursued only one thought: it is necessary to capture the equipment of the 14th Army, and all problems will be solved.

People did not want to understand that equipment is in long-term storage and that it must first be removed from conservation and prepared for combat use. Moreover, part of the equipment on the orders of Yu.M. Netkacheva was dismantled. This false hope played a negative role in the future.

When Yu.M. Netkachev nevertheless ordered 10 tanks to be handed over to the Pridnestrovians, it turned out that there were no other specialists besides the drivers.

The weapon was not shot, everything was in grease. The crews did not have time to get acquainted with the device of the tank, as they were driven into battle.

Here is the article "Tankers completed the task" in the newspaper "Trudovoi Tiraspol" dated June 15, 1999 (author - M. Annenko):

"Regular military officer S.V. Vukolov served in the Soviet Army for 25 years. Tank officer. Since 1990, he began to engage in gathering officers whose experience and professional knowledge could be useful to our republic. In 1992, when hostilities began, Sergei Vasilyevich

received from the OSTK the task of organizing an armored group. About this are his memoirs, which we bring to the attention of our

readers: "When Moldova began military operations against Transnistria, the task was set to collect

officers. We did this together with A. Putra, V. Katushkin. Since the task was set - to organize an armored group (under the code name "White Acacia") from those officers who had already been assembled at that time, tankers were allocated. Crew formation has begun. The commanders were sought out through the military commissariat, they gave announcements on the radio. It was possible to attract such highly professional officers as Colonel Lepikhov, Colonel Astakhov, Lieutenant Colonel Myachev. These people graduated from academies (Lepikhov and Astakhov), and Myachev served for more than 25 years in tank units. Other tankers were also involved, who

had experience in the war in Afghanistan. All of them formed the backbone of the armored group.

After that, they began to create tank crews. The big difficulty was that people only knew class 1-55 vehicles, and they were not at all familiar with modern T-64Bs.

T-64Bs are saturated with electronics, automation, that is, much more complex machines. All this could not but affect the training of the crews.

Two tank companies were created. One was in combat positions in the Dubossary direction, and the second was trained at the training center, studied the technique. Although, of course, it was difficult to do something in such a short time. The 2nd tank company was supposed to leave on June 20 for the Dubossary direction. But on June 19, the Moldovan side brought its units into Bendery. After that, on June 20 at 2 o'clock in the morning, the signal "White locust" sounded on our radio. Of course, everyone did not have time to arrive, so they had to form prefabricated crews. Consistency was missing. Many people I did not know at all.

Women took three tanks in the 14th Army at about five in the morning (that is, they stole them, to put it simply). They had no machine guns. There were also malfunctions that greatly affected the conduct of combat work. Let's say the machine-gun box mounting bracket is torn off, and that's already a problem. On old machines of the T-55 class, the tape could be loaded into the machine gun from either side, start from either end - and the machine gun worked. It's not like this here anymore

began. And the feed angle of the machine-gun belt must be appropriate, and the corresponding laying of the tape in the machine-gun boxes. It seems that all these are trifles, but they played a big role in the attack. At the most critical moment, the machine gun began to wedge, and he stopped firing.

Machine guns were already received in Parkany and went on the attack on the bridge. It was rather a psychic attack, although the tankers, of course, completed their task with honor. Here I should note the following: the tank guys knew perfectly well that going into battle in an unprepared vehicle was tantamount to death. But they went.

And still it was necessary to take the bridge. Opponents armed to the teeth stood against us. Each of them had weapons to fight tanks, they also had ATGMs and about a dozen anti-tank 100-mm Rapira cannons. In practice, our idea was useless, but the determination and courage to go straight into battle played a role. The bridge was taken. Therefore, I have claims to F. Dobrov, who called the bridge Cossack.

Captain A. Smirnov, senior lieutenant V. Bezgin, senior lieutenant V. Baltan, A. Zaruba, N. Grishin were killed in this attack, later gunner-operator A. Irshenko was killed in the police area.

Another example. In the 115th engineer-sapper battalion, which was stationed in Parkany, due to poor preparedness of the crew, an explosion occurred when loading mines into a minelayer, as a result of which 26 people died. Although the leaders of the PMR,

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especially women under the leadership of G.S. Andreeva, spread information everywhere that this was the work of the terrorist group Ilashku, and thereby tried to evade responsibility for the death of 26 young guys. After all, if it were not for this thoughtless seizure of equipment at any cost and the introduction of unprepared people into battle, then there would be no catastrophe.

It is not for nothing that there are standards that require at least 3-4 days to bring equipment into combat condition and conduct combat coordination of at least the crew, not to mention the combat coordination of a platoon, company, etc.

Yu.M. Netkachev and I.N. Smirnov continued to make incessant calls to Moscow and Chisinau. I.N. Smirnov got through to the Minister of Defense of the CIS Marshal of Aviation E.I. Shaposhnikov and asked him to put the army between the conflicting parties. Shaposhnikov for help refused.

The night of June 20-21 came. At night, each side put itself in order, accumulated forces, conducted reconnaissance, and counted losses. Until 6 am on June 21, active hostilities were not conducted. Shootings broke out from time to time. Shells were methodically raining down on the city and mines.

In parts of the Bendery and Dubossary garrisons, among the personnel were killed and wounded, 1 soldier was killed - Ensign Yu.I. Babkin from the 5th reconnaissance squadron (ODRAE); 12 people were injured: Major V.A. Kozlov - garrison KECH;

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lieutenant colonel S.P. Crow, Art. warrant officer N.V. Goltsev, Private K.V. Korkin (all 173rd brigade); privates S.A. Kandaurov, L.V. Kuznetsov, A.A. Pascar (all 183rd MSP); A.A. Krivoruchko - 130th obkzh; A.V. Zakharov - 237th Isbr; IN AND. Vagu - 903rd army; A.V. Kholodyuk - 59th Motor Rifle Division; E.V. Nepomniachtchi - 785th survey. On June 20, 1992, ensign V.B. was captured by the OPON in the city of Bendery. Karnaukhov - foreman of the mortar battery of the 183rd MSP.

During the shelling, 7 barracks and one canteen were damaged, a storehouse for 32 units of equipment was destroyed, and 63 units of engineering equipment were destroyed. In the 2nd pontoon-bridge regiment, a fuel and lubricants warehouse was blown up, 2 KrAZ-260s burned down, 25 units of special equipment were disabled. As a result of the fires, clothing items worth 8 million rubles were destroyed, losses in the service of fuel and lubricants amounted to 3,141,770 rubles; car ZIL-131 AGV worth 529,261 rubles. And only after that did A.V. Rutskoy to open return fire. But all this was only after June 21.

On June 22, an encryption came from the Minister of Defense P.S. Grachev, allowing to return fire to fire in the event of a direct threat of attack on military camps, as well as places of compact residence of families of military personnel.

But Yu.M. Netkachev found a paragraph in the order that said: "exclude cases of provoking actions

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actions of the attackers. Therefore, on June 21 and 22, return firing was carried out exclusively with the personal permission of the army commander Yu.M. Netkachev or Chief of Staff of the Army V.V. Tikhomirov.

It happened like this. The city authorities of Bendery (Kogut, Komissarov, Losev, Atamanyuk) called the commander or chief of staff of the army, they set me the task of opening fire approximately in the following way: "There, somewhere from the cannery area, or from the area With. Gisky, or a mortar battery is firing from the Suvorov Mountain, destroy it." I called Bendery with this

to the authorities and specified in more detail who was shooting and from where. From them I received approximately the same information (somewhere from the area of the cannery a mortar battery was firing at the city council), after which I got in touch with artillery batteries by radio and set them the same task: "Neman" or "Kama", a mortar battery is firing at the city executive committee from the area of the cannery, find and destroy.

On June 22, during the attack on the police building, the first attempt was made to support the advancing guards with artillery fire. But while the Pridnestrovian spotter was transmitting by phone the data for shooting to the working committee of the city of Bendery, and from there they transmitted this data to Tiraspol and, accordingly, to the division, it took a lot of time. During this time, the attackers moved forward, and the first shells hit the location of the advancing Pridnestrovians. After

while correcting the targets, the shells ended up in the hands of the police. The building of the passport office was destroyed, but the rest of the positions of the police were slightly damaged, so the shooting was stopped. Especially since Yu.M. Netkachev and forbade fire.

All this led to a huge loss of time, often the enemy had time to leave the place where they were asked to open fire.

Without the exact coordinates of the targets, and they could only be determined by artillery reconnaissance, it is almost impossible to carry out such tasks in the city without causing great destruction. And therefore, while the gunners themselves did not determine the coordinates of the targets (x, y, B), they were not fired at.

In order to remove the intermediate links between the moment of detection of the target and the opening of fire on it, a mortar battery of the 183rd MRR was introduced into the Bendery fortress. The battery commander was given the opportunity to work directly with representatives of the city executive committee and commanders of the Transnistrian people.

The main task that I set for myself these days was to force the enemy to stop firing.

The task of suppressing or destroying the enemy was not set, since there were neither forces nor means for this. At that time, only two artillery and one mortar batteries were capable of performing fire missions. Nevertheless, on June 21 and 22, two batteries carried out the tasks assigned to them.

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On June 21, a battery of 152-mm agricultural howitzers of the 328th SAP fired at seven targets: two howitzer batteries, three mortar batteries, and two concentrations of manpower and equipment.

A battery of 122-mm agricultural howitzers of the 183rd MRR fired at an artillery battery on Suvorovskaya Gora and 2 mortar batteries on the western and northern outskirts of the village of Varnitsa.

From 19:00 to 20:00, these batteries fired on a column of the 2nd motorized infantry brigade of the Moldavian army, commanded by Colonel Karasev, the former chief of staff of the 89th MRD and who went over to the side of the Moldavians. The flank of the column was attacked from the Bendery fortress. The 2nd brigade of the Moldavian army suffered losses and could not enter the city. Colonel Leonid Sergeevich Karasev himself was wounded and shell-shocked. For participation in hostilities, he was awarded the highest military order of Moldova "Stefan cel Mare" (Siiiiegap se] Mate).

At 6 p.m., a 122-mm agricultural battery of the 183rd MRR destroyed a mortar battery in the village of Kitskany in the monastery.

At 2 am, 2 MTLBs got stuck on the railway tracks opposite the chemical defense battalion. They opened fire on them. The volunteers first tried to shoot back, but when the fire

increased on them, all surrendered. 16 detainees were taken to the fortress and kept there until June 24, until the negotiation process on the exchange of prisoners began.

On June 22, the battery of the 328th self-propelled guns fired at five targets: two artillery and one mortar batteries, on

observation point, concentration of manpower and equipment. The battery of the 183rd MRR fired at the police building in the city of Bendery, a mortar battery on the territory of a cannery, an artillery battery 2 kilometers west of the village of Khadzhimus, and a mortar battery on Suvorov Hill.

At 20:00, our two batteries destroyed a train with Oponists, which was unloading at a dead end at the railway station in the port of Varnitsa.

At this time, I was called by the Chief of Staff of the Army V.V. Tikhomirov. When I went to his office, the commander of the army was there. Yu.M. Netkachev asked me: "How many ready rocket launchers do we have for opening fire?"

I answered: "Only one BM is ready."

Netkachev proposed to strike at the positions of the Moldovans. To which Tikhomirov and I objected that we could get a retaliatory strike from Uragan multiple launch rocket systems. And we will not be able to get them with our systems. The possible consequences were unpredictable because the positions of our artillery were located in the area of artillery depots. A retaliatory strike from the right bank could be fatal for the civilian population.

Head of Air Defense (Air Defense) of the 14th Army, Colonel G.N. Dobryansky reported to Netkachev that two planes had taken off from the Marculesti airfield and were flying in the direction of Bendery. However, Yu.M. Netkachev did not allow them to open fire.

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At 19:15, two Moldavian MiG-29 planes tried to bomb the bridge across the Dniester River. Following the results of the raid, another MiG-29UB was involved for control. The bombing was carried out very inaccurately, instead of the bridge, the "Moldovan aces" bombed the village of Parkany. The house was destroyed. Panic broke out among the civilian population in the city of Bendery. Up to a thousand refugees left the city every hour.

After this incident, all air defense systems of the 14th Army were put on full alert. In total, during that day, the air defense systems of the 14th Army detected 27 targets that flew from the northern and western directions.

The Moldovan side in every possible way denied the participation of its aviation in raids on Transnistria. In response to a question from Izvestiya journalist Valery Iacob about the use of aviation by the Moldovan side, Colonel Turtureanu replied: "Using Moldovan aviation? This is absolute misinformation. Yes, two MiG-29 aircraft made a reconnaissance flight at low altitude between Bendery and Tiraspol. But only".

An hour after this conversation, Colonel Vasile Cebanu, commander of the aviation of the Armed Forces of Moldova, answered the same question, unaware of the previous conversation, as follows: the planes did indeed fly. They bombed the bridge between Bendery and Tiraspol. But they missed. According to the pilots, the bombs did not hit residential buildings, but on the beach. This is the usual reconnaissance in combat. "The goal is to cool

I am practically healthy and answer my every word.

i: possible accusations that I, a general, am a military man"

7 also to the presidents of the sovereign" kyh republics, k' marodem, and parliament"

The newspaper "Dniester Pravda" with a statement by the commander of the 14th Guards Combined Arms Russian Army, July 4, 1992

Press conference at the headquarters of the 14th Army, July 4, 1992

Awarded

Decree of the President. "Russian. Federations _ From 5

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Order Book of Colonel V.N. Chernobrivogo, 1992

Brochure on the history of the 59th Guards Motor Rifle Division "Milestones of the glorious path", 1997

CERTIFIED goats to ANDREY VALERIEVICH

Editorial certificate of the correspondent of the newspaper of the 14th army "Soldier of the Fatherland", 1995

"15 YEARS

| "Mouth of the PEACEKEEPING MISSION surname

IN TRANSNISTRIUM" 2 > I can barely name Vela e eee. d patronymic

Decree of the President of the Pridnestrovian Moldavian Republic

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awarded with a medal

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Certificate for the medal "15 years of the peacekeeping mission in Pridnestrovie", 2008

Battery 152-mm self-propelled guns firing. Transnistria, July 1992

A rocket launcher that was in service with the Transnistrian Guard. Transnistria, July 1992

At the broken Moldovan equipment. Transnistria, July 1992

Forced stop on the march of the 152-mm self-propelled guns "Acacia". Transnistria, July 1992

Battery 152-mm self-propelled guns in a firing position. Transnistria, July 1992

Officers at the headquarters of the 14th Army. Tiraspol, summer 1992

Officers of the 14th Army. (From left to right, 1st row: V.N. Chernobrov, A.I. Lebed, Yu.P. Serbin, S.I. Serebryakov; 2nd row: A.A. Nazarov, V.D. Korolev.) Tiraspol, 1995

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Missile Troops and Artillery Department of the 14th Army and Command of the 14th Army. (From left to right, 1st row: A.S. Dymar, A.M. Baranov, A.I. Lebed, V.V. Tikhomirov, Yu.K. Chuprakov, B.M. Melnichuk,

O.I. perepadya; 2nd row: A. Solovyov, A.D. Tarasov, V.N. Chernobrivy, V.O. Rossikhin.) Tiraspol, 1995

Directorate of the 14th Guards Combined Arms Army. Tiraspol, 1995

aggressive fervor of the 14th Army" (Bendery, Strange War, Izvestia, June 29, 1992).

The details of the bombing of the bridge across the Dniester in 2014 were revealed by the Nezavisimoe Voennoye Obozreniye newspaper in the article "In the sky of Pridnestrovie. Russian anti-aircraft gunners saved the civilian population from bombardments": "Why didn't the pilots hit the strategically important bridge for the PMR? The author of these lines learned the answer to the question from a conversation with an officer of the 1162nd anti-aircraft missile regiment of the 59th guards motorized rifle division, Yuri K.

"... On the evening of June 19, 1992, after the attack of the armed formations of Moldova on Bendery, the regiment, like other parts of the division, was alerted," officer Yuri K. said. "The anti-aircraft missile regiment was armed with the Osa air defense system. There were 5 batteries in the state, but due to the fact that the part was cropped, i.e. There were 4 soldiers per battery, they managed to complete only one.

Having gathered all the personnel, they began to prepare the equipment of the first battery. At the same time, they began to harmonize the calculations. What was the "official" battery? These are 4 combat vehicles, 2 TZM (transport-loading vehicles), BTR-60 (PU-12), ZIL-131 - transportable spare parts and accessories (spare tools and accessories), ZIL-131 - MTO (maintenance vehicle) and transport vehicle.

Equipment and people were collected bit by bit. One combat vehicle from the first battery, another from the second... We assembled 4 combat vehicles, 1 TZM, 1 BTR-60 (PU-12, point

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anti-aircraft missile battery control) and GAZ-66 (1-15, radar reconnaissance station, with R-142 radio station).

Two days passed relatively calmly. All classes and work took place in the park. The equipment was in the boxes.

On June 22, classes were held until lunch. At 13 o'clock the officers, ensigns with personnel departed for lunch. In addition to the outfit, one officer and one conscript soldier remained in the park.

Between 2 and 3 p.m., the air defense chief called and ordered one combat vehicle to be driven out of the park. The task is to take a position behind the artillery regiment's vehicle fleet. I prepared the war machine for the march. When we were already standing in front of the KTP, a new introductory message came: "Put the battery in position." Both the first and second commands were the result of an encryption by the Minister of Defense Pavel Grachev, which allowed from June 22 to respond to fire in the event of a direct threat of an attack on military camps.

While preparing the equipment, another hour passed. We went to the starting position in the area of the park zone of the 59th division. The regiment commander commanded: "Prepare."

He carried out a functional check, then turned on the antenna "for radiation" in order to compile a reflection card from local objects. While turning it on, I noticed two marks on the indicator. Took them right away

for escort.

With the help of TOV (television optical sight) I observed the targets visually. Two MiG-29s were moving along the Dniester towards Bendery. In front of the city, they hid behind a hilly area, then passed over the bridge and the village of Parkany.

I reported the azimuth and range to the battery commander. I am sure that my report went all the way up to Commander General Yuri Netkachev, but no one dared to give the launch command.

After the turn, the planes took the opposite course. Again I found them at a distance of 15 kilometers. 5-7 seconds have passed. At a distance of 13.5 kilometers I took it for escort. I visually saw it at a distance of 13 kilometers.

After the capture of fighters for auto-escort, the pilots were clearly nervous. As a result, their bombs missed their target. One fell 300-400 meters near the bridge, and the second and third hit Parkany, a Bulgarian village located along the left bank of the Dniester between Bendery and Tiraspol. I reported that the target was bombing.

The pause dragged on. The radio was silent. When the command came: "Destroy the target", it was too late. The range is more than 10 kilometers, and the targets were removed. I wouldn't have gotten them, because the farthest border of the affected area is 10 km 300 m. The Moldovan planes fled with impunity in the northwest direction."

On June 21, the situation in the Dubossary direction escalated sharply. At 20 o'clock on June 22, a ba-

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a battery of the 183rd SME under the command of Lieutenant Colonel N. At 14:00 on June 23, the battery began to perform tasks in the band from Grigoriopol to Dubossary.

We were helped a lot by the fact that all Moldovan artillery was towed, i.e. sedentary, and our two batteries were self-propelled. And, of course, there was a big difference in the professional training of personnel.

Thanks to the intervention of the 14th Army in the fighting, the Transnistrian armed formations were able to avoid complete defeat, perked up, stabilized the situation in Bendery, Kopanka, Kitskany and Dubossary. On June 21, OPON positions were attacked near the village of Kochiery, five policemen were killed and 27 were wounded. Near the village of Rogi, a floating bridge across the Dniester was destroyed by fire from anti-tank guns.

At 24:00 on June 22, active hostilities in the city of Bendery ceased.

Throughout the night from 22 to 23 June, the city remained empty, the armed formations of Pridnestrovians and the Moldovan army did not enter it.

On June 23, there was a relative calm. The city council managed to agree with the Moldovan police department on the removal of the bodies of the dead, whose number reached 300 last night. Outside, the air temperature reached 35 degrees in the shade. In such heat, the corpses had already begun to decompose, and it was not long

before the epidemic.

Here is what the police commissioner of the city of Bender, lieutenant colonel Viktor Guslyakov, said about this: "Now there is an agreement with the local authorities on a truce, we are trying to find a common language at least on some issues, and sometimes we succeed - we stopped firing to collect the corpses, we organize the extinguishing of fires ... But some forces constantly provoke new clashes, and the shooting does not stop. I also consider the attack on the city department to be a provocation, which forced us to turn to Chisinau for help, after which the troops were brought in. Active political games are going on, in which we - the warring ones - play the role of extras "(Bendery. Strange war. Izvestia, June 29, 1992).

From 20 to 22 June, the Moldovan side suffered significant losses. The personnel who came under return fire were morally depressed. Instead of an easy walk around the city Armed

the forces of the Republic of Moldova received a tough rebuff. The killed Moldavian soldiers were found with military cards with a record that they were drafted into the army on June 10-19, 1992, i.e. a week before the fighting. As a result, the Moldovan side began to regroup troops.

It would seem that in this situation, the leadership of Transnistria and the city of Bender had to fortify the city in order to prevent a second offensive of the Moldavian army. But here the complete absence of a unified command of the armed formations and the confusion of the leadership of Transnistria affected. For the latter, the beginning of an armed invasion of Bendery

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was a complete surprise. Smirnov and his entourage believed in international guarantees, the quadripartite commission of observers, the decision of the Parliament of the Republic of Moldova of June 18 on the peaceful settlement of the conflict.

Head of the Republican Department for Defense and Security Sh.F. Kitsak tried all the time to force the military leadership of the city of Bendery to attack the police building, although there were no forces, no means, no equipment, no ammunition for this. The low military literacy of the PMR leadership played its role. For example, while all the defenders of the city had 5.45 mm machine guns, 7.62 mm ammunition was sent from Tiraspol. This is where emotions come into play. The leadership of the city of Bendery said: "You just abandon us, hand over to the Romanians ..."

In line with such sentiments, Lieutenant Colonel Yu.A. Kostenko considered that he had been betrayed and decided to withdraw the remnants of the battalion from Bendery.

There was no unified command and any interaction in the armed formations of the PMR. This is evidenced by the tragedy that occurred between the military camp of the chemical defense battalion and the Bendery fortress. It was there that the column of guardsmen Kostenko began to retreat. No one was warned about this either in the fortress or in the town of chemical protection.

At the same time (at 2:40 a.m.), the duty officer of the 173rd Missile Brigade received a call from the wife of one of the officers of the brigade and said that from the side

From the village of Protyagailovka, a column of heavy vehicles with extinguished headlights is moving towards the fortress (towards Tiraspol).

When the convoy passed between the fortress and the town of the chemical defense battalion, they opened fire on it from small arms and grenade launchers. As a result of a short night battle, the column was completely destroyed. Only 40 people were killed.

The battalion commander Yu.A. was to blame for the tragedy. Kostenko. He did not coordinate the withdrawal of the battalion either with the commander of the 173rd brigade or with the leadership of the TMR armed formations. In a word, partisanship in the worst sense of the word.

Why the command of the 173rd missile brigade was not warned, we learned later from the surviving guardsmen. Yu.A. Kostenko told them that he had information that the 14th Army, observing neutrality, let the Moldavian OPON into the fortress.

If on June 23 a relative lull was established in the Bendery-Copan-Kitskany section, then in the Dubossary-Grigoriopol section, artillery shelling of the positions of the Pridnestrovians was carried out from the Moldovan side.

On the morning of June 23, 2 BRDM and 2 cars of Lieutenant Colonel Yu.A. drove up to the headquarters of the 14th Army. Kostenko. He demanded that I.N. Smirnov and Yu.M. Netkachev. Kostenko stated that otherwise he would attack the army headquarters. In confirmation of his intentions, he gave a command, and from the side of the control

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at the checkpoint (checkpoint) there was a burst of machine-gun fire. At the headquarters, together with I.N. Smirnov was a group of deputies of the Supreme Council of the PMR and the Bendery City Council.

Yu.M. Netkachev said that he would not go to negotiations, that these are your people, you deal with them. I.N. went to the checkpoint. Smirnov, I.A. Milman, G.F. Pologov and V.I. Kharchenko. As a result of negotiations, the guards headed by Yu.A. Kostenko calmed down and left for Parkany.

All these days, from June 19 to June 23, officers of the army administration, instead of preparing for combat operations of their subordinate units and subunits, drew fire cards for firing and trained on alert to take up positions in the headquarters along the windows. That was all the commander and chief of staff of the army could puzzle us with.

On June 23, around 2 pm, I was at the training center. Lieutenant Colonel V.A. Biryukov saw that three planes had landed at the airfield, but they knew nothing about who had flown in and why. Soon, the operational officer on duty of the army found me on the radio and ordered me to come to the commander.

All the deputies, heads of military branches, services and other departments gathered in Netkachev's office. They sat at a large table, and behind each of them there was a paratrooper with a machine gun. I took my seat. Behind me immediately settled two colonels with machine guns. A tall colonel walked around the office

paratrooper in field uniform and smoking a cigarette. Netkachev himself could not stand even the smell of tobacco smoke. "Is there any ashtray in here?" the Colonel asked in a peculiar voice. Netkachev sent someone and brought a jar of mayonnaise. After that, he introduced us to the "smoker": "Colonel Gusev from the Ministry of Defense. He arrived to study the situation, report to the President of Russia on the current situation and take measures to resolve the conflict. Report the situation to your services."

Deputy commanders, heads of military branches and services began to report on their services, wondering at the same time how ingratiatingly the army commander behaved in front of some colonel.

I began to think about options for my future fate. First, they will be removed from their posts and sent somewhere with a demotion beyond the Urals; the second - they will arrest and give five years (after all, a good half of the targets on which our artillery fired were hit without the commander's sanction, and the rest were fired only on verbal orders). Such gloomy prospects did little to please me.

After my report that two self-propelled and one mortar batteries were fighting, and another BM-21 Grad rocket battery was ready to fire, Gusev asked in surprise: "Where is the rest of the artillery?"

Then he turned to his artillery colonels Andrei Smirnov and Viktor Medvedev: "What has the General Staff given us?" After looking at the help,

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forces: "Where are your "Hyacinths", "Hurricanes"? According to our data, you have it all."

I answered: "What the General Staff gave you is the data as of January 1, 1992. All this was transferred to Moldova."

That is, no one in our General Staff knew what, when and to whom it was transferred. No wonder, apparently, the Minister of Defense Igor Rodionov in 1996 carried out an audit in the armed forces for several months in order to figure out what we still had left.

I reported to Gusev that now there is from the artillery in the 14th Army. He was very surprised: almost all the artillery was cut and cut.

"Why don't you use the BM-21 battery"? Gusev asked.

"I'm afraid," I replied.

Gusev's eyes even got bigger in surprise: "I don't understand. Why?"

"Let me report on the map. There is a park zone here, nearby, across the road, there are warehouses with ammunition, warehouses of fuel and lubricants. Here are the firing positions of the Moldovan artillery (two Uragan batteries and one Hyacinth battery), we cannot get them, there is not enough firing range. They can reach the warehouses. If we use rocket artillery, they will also use Uragan. And if at least one shell hits the ammunition depot or fuel and lubricants, then it will not seem enough to us. All firing positions of our artillery are not far from

these warehouses. And the nearest houses in Tiraspol are 400-500 meters away."

"Did you report this to the commander of the army?" Gusev asked me. Instead of me, Lieutenant Colonel S. Zheltoukhov answered, he said that this issue was discussed at a meeting with the Deputy Army Commander for Armaments, but no decision was made on it.

Gusev began to ask Lieutenant Colonel S. Zheltoukhov, head of the rocket and artillery armament service of the army, how much and what kind of ammunition is in warehouses, why it has not yet been taken out, where it can be taken away and what needs to be done in order to take it out. After listening to the proposals of the head of the RAV service, he thought a little and said: "Everyone should prepare proposals for the combat use of their units and subunits. The next hearing at the CBU (combat control center) is at 18:00."

I am with Colonels A.B. Smirnov and V.S. Medvedev went to the headquarters of the MFA. (Andrey Borisovich Smirnov and I studied at the Artillery Academy, only he was a year younger.) Here I helped them to understand the situation in detail, since the specifics of the use of combined arms units and subunits is slightly different from the use of airborne troops.

They told me that Colonel Gusev was not Gusev at all, but Major General Alexander Ivanovich Lebed, deputy commander of the Airborne Forces for combat training.

That he is a great specialist in "hot spots". I visited the Baltic States, Tbilisi, Baku. The surname Lebed did not tell me anything, I heard that in 1999 some Lebed either defended or attacked the White House in Moscow.

They also said that the commander of the 300th Airborne Regiment, which was stationed in Chisinau, Colonel Alexei Lebed, was his brother. That a battalion of special forces of the Airborne Forces flew to Tiraspol with him, and that Lebed brought a replacement to each head of the armed forces and services. That Lebed was personally sent here by the Chief of the General Staff, V. Dubynin.

Before flying to Tiraspol, Lebed was instructed by Vice President A.V. Rutskoi and Secretary of the Security Council of Russia Yu.V. Skokov. According to A.I. Lebed (Russian news agency "National News Service" ("NSN"), May 18, 1996), briefing by Vice President A.V. Rutskoy "was ten minutes long, had an extremely emotional character, out of 10 words 9 were obscene." Yu.V. Skokov, on behalf of the President of Russia, put A.I. Lebed has five tasks:

1. Stop the bloodshed by any means available.
2. If necessary, ensure the evacuation of families of military personnel.

3. Take under tight control all the bases and warehouses with weapons and ammunition.
4. Ensure or create conditions and prerequisites for the unimpeded passage of trains with ammunition, weapons and equipment through the territory of Ukraine.
5. Create conditions for non-obstruction for the implementation of the above tasks by the leadership of Moldova.

Lebed fairly quickly assessed the situation and became aware of everything that was happening, established contact with the local leadership, and in the evening 3 columns of trucks with people arrived at the ammunition depots. Throughout the night, officers of the army administration supervised the loading and escort of vehicles with ammunition. By morning, all ammunition had been transported to concrete caponiers for aircraft. The threat of explosion of warehouses has passed. Everyone felt a little lighter. It was possible not to be afraid of a retaliatory strike.

At 18:00, all the commanders of the Transnistrian armed formations gathered in the Military Council of the Army. A.I. The swan listened attentively to them. After analyzing what was said, he caught the most important thing - all the military structures of the TMR operate at the level of bad partisan detachments. No one is subordinate to anyone, there is no interaction between the 14th Army and the armed formations of the PMR, there is no communication. Guardsmen, Cossacks and detachments of the TSO act each on their own. Head of the Republican Department for Defense and Security Sh.F. Kitsak does not own the situation and does not control the actions of the armed forces

migrations of the PMR.

Lebed got acquainted with the general political and criminal situation. Here the task was set to mobilize the 59th division and army units as soon as possible.

Military registration and enlistment offices have earned on full power. Major General B.M. Melnychuk did not leave the training center, where live firing and combat coordination of units took place day and night. The deputy commander of the army for armaments and his services for days on end brought equipment and weapons into a combat-ready state. By the end of June, the 59th Motor Rifle Division and other units of the army were fully mobilized and ready for combat operations, with their strength amounting to 17,000 people.

The rear services and the military communications service (VOSO) were tasked with the withdrawal and evacuation of the civilian population from Bendery. All available wagons were delivered to the Tiraspol station, including the "cars". Food and medical care for the refugees has been organized. Within three days, more than 30,000 people were evacuated through the joint efforts of local authorities and the military.

Special forces battalion of the Airborne Forces under the command of Colonel V.M. Prokopenko with the help of the Tiraspol commandant's office (the staff of the commandant's office was significantly increased), which was commanded by Colonel M.M. Bergman, during the day blocked all roads in the area of responsibility of the 14th Army. The rise in crime rates

in the war zone, and in the settlements has sharply declined.

In an interview with the Russian news agency National News Service (May 18, 1996), A.I. Lebed said: "I deployed this commandant's office completely, captured the city, all shooting stopped immediately, all robberies immediately stopped, all drunks with weapons were detained and isolated." Subsequently, many law enforcement officers of the TMR, who disagreed with the policy of the republic's leadership, went to serve in the commandant's office.

The special forces battalion of the Airborne Forces was engaged not only in restoring order in the zone of responsibility of the army. Every night, groups of special forces went to the other side. Whose orders they carried out, in whose games they acted as dangerous pawns, is another open question of this strange war.

Those who sent them (A.I. Lebed, N.P. Garidov, S.F. Kharlamov) and who could answer where they went and why, are no longer alive.

In with. A motorized rifle battalion was sent to Kolbasnaya to protect ammunition depots and a battery of the 1162nd anti-aircraft missile regiment.

There was a lot of talk about the participation in the hostilities of the so-called "white tights" from the Baltic states. On this subject, Chairman of the State Duma of the Russian Federation I.P. Rybkin gave an interview to the New York newspaper V Novyi Sveta.

Correspondent: "You spoke about "blond snipers" from the Baltic States during the war in Prydn

strovie. Everyone has heard of them, but no one has seen them. Could you provide at least one proof of their existence?"

Rybkin: Why? I came to Transnistria under a false name with my rank of reserve captain. And I know that when General Lebed arrived there under the pseudonym "Colonel Gusev", he was primarily engaged in snipers. More than thirty snipers he "withdrawn" before taking command of the army. Only then did the panic on the streets of Bendery end."

On June 23, the air defense systems of the 14th Army detected 59 targets at low and medium altitudes. Aircraft that entered the affected area entered from the northern direction along the Dniester.

Deputy Chairman of the Executive Committee of the City Council of Bender K.F. Karanov spoke about the difference in relations between Tiraspol and Bendery, which they felt immediately upon arrival in Pridnestrovie A.I. Lebed: "At that time, we felt that Tiraspol was really taking care of us. The city began to receive weapons, the militia went to the positions, the military registration and enlistment offices began to work efficiently. The Bendery military registration and enlistment office launched its work in Tiraspol. On June 24, A.I. visited Bendery. Swan".

Counterintelligence officers (a special department of the army) put A.I. Lebed tape recordings of telephone conversations not only Yu.M. Netkachev with Ion Kostash, but also all telephone conversations of officers of the

army from both the Moldovan and the Transnistrian side. Conclusions were drawn immediately. After 3 days, not a single Moldavian officer was in the army administration anymore.

Until that moment, all the information (orders, instructions, plans) that was discussed at service meetings under the leadership of Yu.M. Netkachev, literally in 2-3 hours was already known to both the Moldovan and Transnistrian sides.

Netkachev withdrew himself. I can't remember a single case when he at least once reported something to A.I. Lebed. Apparently, at the first meeting, Lebed was convinced that Netkachev did not fully control the situation, the army lived on its own, and he on his own.

Since since June 19, not a single unit, except for artillery, has participated in hostilities, A.I. Swan freed me from official meetings. One of the colonels (Smirnov or Medvedev) went to meetings, and I went with another to artillery firing positions and places of mobilization of units. More often I was at the headquarters of the MFA and managed the military operations from there.

A.I. Lebed with his officers on the 3rd floor of the army headquarters, in the offices of the operations department. In the same place, on the 3rd floor, the headquarters of the MFA of the army was located. Since none of the heads of military branches and services had subordinate units involved in hostilities, and all information about the situation on

the advanced flocked to me, then they all went to the headquarters of the MFA many times to find out the situation.

June 24, passing by the headquarters of the RvidA, A.I. Lebed came to me and made a remark about the fact that there were many outsiders in the headquarters. He explained to me in popular language that there was a war going on and everyone had to carry "his suitcase himself" and that not all curiosity was just curiosity.

On that day, 87 targets were spotted by army air defense systems. During the day, passive interference was used by the enemy to cover aviation, and at night such interference was set to simulate helicopter flights. On the same day, one Mi-8 helicopter with 42 bullet holes made an emergency landing near Chisinau. Both of his pilots were wounded.

Particularly noteworthy is the activity of the aviation of neighboring Romania. Its transport planes carried weapons and ammunition for the Moldovan army. Transnistrian armed formations tried to fight them. They were armed with a certain number of air defense systems, including such as MANPADS. There were also specialists who were fluent in these weapons. In early 1992, Lieutenant Ilya Kulik from the Igla MANPADS shot down a Romanian An-24 military transport aircraft.

The armed conflict in Moldova has also caused concern in neighboring Ukraine. The leadership of Ukraine has emphatically distanced itself from the PMR. Along the border, in hastily dug caponiers, there were armored personnel carriers,

pointing the trunks towards Tiraspol. It's not a pleasant feeling when machine guns are looking at your back. Especially when the Slavs are aiming at you. You involuntarily begin to understand that you are a hostage in some dirty and incomprehensible game.

To reinforce the border troops, four Mi-8s and one Mi-24 of a separate squadron of the National Guard of Ukraine were urgently deployed. These machines were based at the Vapnyarka airfield and the Red Windows site. For three months, fourteen crews were engaged in the transfer of blocking groups and the transport of materiel. Ukrainian MiG-29 interceptors rose several times to force the Romanian transport workers out of their own airspace.

Ukraine, like Russia, was afraid of a precedent. There has not yet been a war in Ukraine, but there have been territorial disputes with Hungary, Poland, and Romania.

On June 24, at the morning session, the Parliament of the Republic of Moldova adopted a resolution on the aggravation of the situation in the Republic in connection with the direct and deliberate intervention of the 14th Army in the conflict in the eastern regions of the country. It decided to apply to the UN with a request to immediately convene the UN Security Council in connection with the open aggression of Russia against Moldova. The zone of the Left Bank and Bender was recognized in the decree as a zone occupied by the 14th army, it was decided to create a state commission of the Republic of Moldova to investigate crimes,

carried out by the 14th Army on the territory of Moldova with the participation of international experts.

On June 24, Colonel Gennady Mikhailovich Akifiev, Chief of the Army's MFA, returned from vacation to serve, and I took up my duties as Chief of Staff of the Army's MFA. The mobilization and combat coordination of units and subunits was in full swing. G.M. Akifiev began to wander around the range and firing positions with Smirnov and Medvedev.

Colonel G.M. Akifiev is a very competent officer, a pedant and a lawyer. If some measures were recorded in the mobilization plan, he did not deviate from them even a single step. Naturally, combatant reviews of personnel and equipment began to be held, the review of notes for conducting classes with assigned staff, etc. began. and so on. Somehow he arrives at the firing positions of the division of the 183rd SME, and there the personnel walks in shorts and without boots. The division commander got: "Why in shorts? Dress the personnel, put the uniform in order." And the air temperature outside is plus 35 degrees, all personnel are digging trenches for

self-propelled gun, the armor warmed up to 60 degrees. Formally, he was right, but in fact it is necessary to take into account what the personnel were doing. All this made the work nervous.

I received from Colonel G.M. Akifiev ordered not to shoot without his permission. For two days Colonels Smirnov and Medvedev traveled with Akifiev. And the following picture turned out: I can't give a command in subsection

divisions to open fire until I get permission from G.M. Akifiev, and he does not give me a command until there is a written order from the army commander.

The only one who fired at that time was the commander of the combined division, Lieutenant Colonel V. near Dubossary. At the most crucial moments, he (according to an earlier agreement with me) "lost" communication with the headquarters of the MFA of the army.

On June 25, the situation near Dubossary sharply escalated. In the morning, a battery of BM-21 Grad rocket launchers - 4 pieces, a battery of 152-mm agricultural howitzers 2S3 "Acacia" - 4 pieces and a mortar battery were transferred there. The consolidated division near Dubossary was headed by Lieutenant Colonel V. To protect the artillerymen, a platoon of Black Sea Cossacks also departed there.

The battery of the 183rd MRR under the command of Lieutenant Colonel N. was transferred near Slobodzeya, since this was the area of responsibility of the 183rd MRR.

I introduced Lieutenant Colonel N. to General A.I. Lebed and told the story of his dismissal. Lebed listened attentively and said that there would be no dismissal and that all this was bullshit. The officer perked up and left to command his division, which was finishing combat coordination in the Slobodzeya area.

On the night of June 25, the Moldovan side fired guns at the city of Dubossary and the Dubossary hydroelectric power station. The 2nd transformer was broken, oil began to flow into

the river Dniester.

June 25 A.I. Lebed held a meeting with the army command regarding the fulfillment of one of the tasks assigned to him by Secretary of the Russian Security Council Yu.V. Skokov, namely, the withdrawal of units and the export of property of the 14th Army to Russia.

The tasks were set with the knowledge of the problems that may arise both in preparation for the withdrawal, and on the way and on the territory of Russia.

The following issues were discussed:

- what is available from the equipment by brand;
- what needs to be taken to the territory of Russia according to the directive of the General Staff;
- how many platforms need to be prepared for sending equipment;
- how many families of officers and ensigns are to be sent;
- how many passenger cars are needed and how much food is needed on the route;
- preparation of lists of officers and ensigns leaving for a new duty station, leaving and leaving for other CIS countries;
- preparation of documents for submission to the archive of the Ministry of Defense;
- where the trains will go (unloading stations on the territory of Russia).

For the first time, the issue was raised before the Ministry of Defense to provide the departing officers and ensigns with apartments on the territory of Russia.

When the first rough estimates were made, it turned out that there were a lot of questions here that neither the army command nor Lebed could answer.

All these questions were also put to the General Staff. They came to the conclusion that this problem cannot be solved right off the bat, it will take not even months, but years.

The further course of events showed that the problem of withdrawal and export has not yet been completely resolved.

Before dawn on June 26, the Moldavian side, after artillery preparation, went on the offensive on the Cochier bridgehead. During the night, Moldovan artillery fired about 50 shells at the center of the city of Dubossary. Two people were killed and four were injured. In Grigoriopol, shells hit a kindergarten and a residential building, where there were also casualties.

On June 26 at 07:30 from the western direction at a distance of up to 35 kilometers from Bendery, the enemy placed passive interference to cover two MiG-29 aircraft. At the moment the planes reached the target - the oil depot in Tiraspol - Colonel G.N. Dobriansky gave the order for their destruction. A few minutes after the launch, the battery reported: "Explosion at an altitude of 3000, the target mark has disappeared from the screen." The plane, which received damage, fell on the territory of Moldova, the official Chisinau habitually denied the fact of the loss of the plane. But the fighters from the special purpose company of the 14th Army from the raid "on the other side" brought

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debris that was identified as a fragment of the MiG-29 antenna. After this incident, there were no raids on the territory of Transnistria.

After the end of hostilities, the Moldovans officially acknowledged the loss of one MiG-29. There is every reason to believe that this fighter is on the account of the air defense of the 14th Army.

This is how this combat episode is described in the "Independent Military Review", in the material "In the sky of Transnistria ...":

"... On June 23, the assigned staff came to the regiment. By the way, "partisans" were selected back in May. The mobist of the unit went to the city military registration and enlistment office, selected documents for specialists. Then they were invited to the location for a conversation. Thanks to this, all the batteries were completed in one day.

Combat work was organized as follows: the battery received target designation from the command post of the regiment commander. Inside the battery, the battery commander gave the command to open fire to the crews. They fired at suddenly appearing targets independently, with a subsequent report to the regiment commander.

They worked with two machines and constantly changed combat positions. They were in the gardens near the village of Ternovka and in the Middle Khutor. There we guarded the oil depot. Each pair was assigned a sector of responsibility. Within its borders, we could hit targets.

All these days we hardly slept. They returned to the regiment for a meeting at night, by 23.00. Commander regiment brought

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tasks for the next day, and we again went to combat positions.

...On the morning of June 26, I again collided with MiGs, - Yury K. continued to recall. - The planes took off from the military airfield of Marculesti, located a little north of the Moldovan capital. They came in from the northwest. At the time of the capture, the planes changed course and began to leave to the northeast.

Two MiG-29s flew to bomb the Tiraspol oil depot. The planes flew close to each other, at a distance of less than 50 meters, so the target was originally one. Then the targets split on the screen. I took them on escort and immediately launched.

Fired two missiles. On the launcher of the Osa air defense system there are 6 missiles. This allows you to fire both single and "burst": two anti-aircraft guided missiles (SAM. - A.K.) with an interval of 4 seconds.

I distinctly saw the explosion of the rocket in the TOV and how a white smoky plume appeared behind the MiG, which is characteristic of fragments entering the fuel system. Got it!

I know for sure that fragments of the rocket fell on the territory of Ukraine. The border guards and the National Guard hurriedly cordoned off the area where the SAM fragments fell and blocked the border with the PMR. The fate of the aircraft and crew is not known to me. From the newspaper "Dnestrovskaja pravda" for 1992, I learned the names of Moldovan pilots who decided to "become famous" for the bombing of Transnistria.

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vya. These are senior lieutenants Alexander Daranutsa, Alexander Bobovich, Svyatoslav Meduran, captain Rusu (both the newspaper and my interlocutor incorrectly named the names of the pilots. The bridge was bombed: Major Vitaly Rusu, captain Alexander Daranutsa, senior lieutenants Alexander Popovich, Svyatoslav Neburak).

... In total, since July 22, 1992, 29 launches of anti-aircraft guided missiles were carried out at air targets, 24 missiles were used up, due to various malfunctions of anti-aircraft guided missiles or transport and launch containers (TIK) produced, but the rocket did not leave the container). The warehouse stored 29 TPKs used in the course of the combat work of the anti-aircraft missile regiment in the sky of Transnistria.

The following chronology is as follows. On July 12, our battery went to the area of the village of Kolbasna, Rybnitsa district, to cover the artillery ammunition depot, inherited by the 14th Army from the former Odessa military district. The Marculesti airfield, where the MiGs were based, is located in a straight line 120 kilometers from Kolbasna, so the army command did not unreasonably consider the possibility of attacking the depots. We were near Rybnitsa until the end of 1992. We have completed the task. The military of Moldova did not dare to take revenge."

Anti-aircraft gunners of the 14th Army, participants in the Transnistrian war, were awarded Russian state awards. To my interlocutor - Yuri

K. - in 1993 was awarded the order. Vitaliy Rusu, the pilot who bombed the bridge between Bendery and Parkani, received the highest military award of the Republic of Moldova. The decree on awarding him the Order of Stefan cel Mare (Siegap se! Mage) was signed on March 6, 2012, on the 20th anniversary of the start of the fratricidal war. As they say, a medal for a battle, a medal for ... destroyed peaceful houses is poured out of one metal. However, history has already put everything in its place.

On June 26, the mixed quadripartite commission (diplomats from Russia, Ukraine, Moldova and Romania) met with the heads of the executive committee of the Bendery City Council V.V. Kogut and V.I. Kharchenko. They acquainted them with the egregious facts of banditry by the armed formations of Moldova. Mayor of Bendery V.V. Kohut reported on the dismantling of valuable equipment of a shoe factory and a biochemical plant, a dairy and bakery, and a brewery by Moldovan military personnel. The occupiers removed all medical equipment and preparations from the children's polyclinic, antenatal clinic and the gynecological department of the hospital. They blew up the central

telephone substation and Varnitsky water intake. Under the cover of the armed formations of Moldova, the equipment was taken out towards Chisinau.

On the same day, the Military Council of the 14th Army issued a statement to the heads of government and the peoples of the Commonwealth of Independent States.

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STATEMENT of the Military Council of the 14th Guards Combined Arms Army of June 26, 1992

The false statement of the head of the military department of Moldova, Mr. Kostash, about the non-use of aviation against civilian facilities in Pridnestrovie is nothing more than another attempt to mislead the world community and its own people, to hide the crimes committed against the civilian population. In his justifying speeches, he presents the robbery actions of military aviation as nothing more than a myth created by Tiraspol ideologists.

At the same time, the presence of irrefutable facts and, in particular, the consequences of an air strike in the area of the settlement of Parkany forced the divisional general Kostash to admit the reality of the use of the Air Force of the Republic of Moldova in the conflict zone, allegedly with reconnaissance goals.

The Military Council of the 14th Army officially declares and notifies that the leadership of Moldova, despite repeated statements about its commitment to peace, does not renounce steps to escalate the armed conflict using aviation. So, in the period from 9.00 to 11.00 on June 26 of this year. An attempt was made to bomb the national economic objects of the city of Tiraspol.

I would like to hear the answer of the leadership of the Republic of Moldova and, in particular, Mr. Kostash, why

Are they deliberately misleading the world community?

The Military Council once again notifies that the air defense systems of the 14th Army will not allow barbaric air strikes against the civilian population of Transnistria.

The warning of the Military Council of the 14th Army had no effect on the aggressor. At 17 o'clock A.I. Lebed gathered journalists for his first press conference. This was a complete surprise, since General Yu.M. Netkachev generally avoided journalists.

At the press conference A.I. Lebed very clearly and clearly articulated his position: "... the army will continue to maintain neutrality, but the quality of this neutrality will change. It will be a different, qualitatively different neutrality —armed neutrality. We are strong enough to fight back anyone. The essence of this armed neutrality will be that as long as they don't touch us, we won't touch anyone."

A.I. Lebed openly stated that in order to achieve peace on this land, he would cooperate with the armed formations of Transnistria and that the 14th Army would take part in the hostilities in the event of aggression from the Republic of Moldova.

From that day on, due to possible air raids, artillery strikes, information leaks from the very headquarters of the meeting with the heads of local authorities and commanders of the armed formations of Pridne-

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strovia, as well as by Russian army commanders, began to be carried out at the field command post.

On June 27, Colonel A.B. came to my headquarters. Smirnov and said: "Let's quickly go to the meeting at the Central Bank."

I replied that Colonel G.M. had already left there. Akifiev and I have nothing to do there.

Smirnov repeated: "Go, Swan does not like latecomers."

Lebed began the meeting by raising Colonel G.M. Akifiev and, without explaining anything, said: "Comrade Colonel, you, as the head of the MFA, do not suit me. Choose any place of your further service. I will help you with this."

Akifiev silently left the CBU. Lebed continued: "Colonel Chernobriv will act as chief of the MFA of the army."

I was as shocked by this order as Akifiev was, and I answered: "Understood."

For which he immediately received: "It's not clear, but there is."

"Yes," I replied and sat down.

Naturally, in the office I had an unpleasant conversation with Akifiev. He thought I hooked him up. My attempt to explain that I had nothing to do with it led nowhere. Each of us has our own opinion.

On the same day A.I. Lebed reported to Moscow that Yu.M. Netkachev is not in control of the situation and is struggling to cope with the duties assigned to him. From Moscow at 12:17 a cipher arrived with a proposal

by A.I. Lebed to take the post of commander of the 14th Army instead of Yu.M. Netkachev. Alexander Ivanovich asked for 10 minutes to think and agreed.

Just before dinner, A.I. Lebed, passing by the headquarters of the RFA, came to us: "Well, artillery, how are you, how are you breathing?" I reported the situation to him. He looked at his watch and told me: "At 12:27 I took command of the army, I will go and please Netkachev" and went to the office of the already former army commander on the second floor.

On June 26, 27 and 28, intensive artillery fire was carried out on the positions of the left bank. The Moldovan side continued to bring up heavy artillery to the combat area. There were fights in Bendery. Civilian casualties approached 600 killed and 3,000 wounded. About a hundred thousand people left the city.

The Moldovan side often staged provocations. They will fire at their positions, and on television and radio they say that this was done by the 14th Army or Transnistrian military formations. All denied involvement in any shootout. Some mysterious "third force" appeared, which did not obey any orders and on which everything fell down.

I remember how A.I. called me. Lebed: "This "third force" has already got me. Remember, Colonel, whatever I tell you in front of anyone, you are working according to the plan that I tell you.

approved. You will work for me for the "fourth force". Even if I order you to immediately cease fire, you still have to work for at least 40 minutes, regardless of any of my orders."

On June 28, at the Kosnitsa bridgehead, the Moldovan side again made an attempt to intensify hostilities. A.I. Lebed gave the order to immediately send one tank and two motorized rifle battalions there.

The situation in Bendery became more and more tense. On June 29, there were battles in the Leninsky district of Bendery. The shoe factory "Tigina" was burned down, the warehouse of the silk factory, the cotton spinning factory, the "Fanerodetal" factory burned down, the "Pribor" factory was shelled by artillery. On the night of June 29-30, the machine-building and experimental experimental plants were subjected to artillery fire.

On June 29, at 24:00, Lebed gathered the heads of military branches and services at the CBU and ordered them to get ready for work. We stayed at the CBU until 3 am. They presented their proposals and discussed the general political situation in the region. Lebed told us about some of his adventures in Baku and Tbilisi, even to the point of anecdotes. At three o'clock in the morning the phone rang. A.I. Lebed picked up the phone, silently listened to the report and said to the assembled officers: "Now you can rest for a couple of hours."

When I came to my headquarters, I learned from the report of the duty officer of the 173rd missile brigade that

By 2:30 a.m., a tank regiment of the 59th division entered the fortress. Only those who directly carried out this task knew about it. Thus, a possible leakage of information was prevented. The Moldovan troops, sensing something was wrong, left the city with a fright, but the Pridnestrovians did not take advantage of the situation.

Artillery worked as before. A call from Pridnestrovians: "Help destroy such and such target".

I request permission from the commander or chief of staff. Received "good" - open fire.

Once again I request permission to open fire from A.I. Swan, I hear: "Come to to me".

I go to the commander, and he says to me: "You already got me. Listen to the order. From now on, first destroy, and then report back." He also clarified the tasks of artillery: to destroy ammunition depots, fuel and lubricants and enemy artillery. Look for goals on your own, and not wait for the Pridnestrovians to ask you. Here, as they say in one old joke, the suit went. We got the opportunity to quickly make decisions on retaliatory strikes.

The result was not long in coming. On the Kitskan bridgehead, the Moldovan side built concrete caponiers and installed a BM-21 Grad rocket battery in them. On the night of June 30, Lieutenant Colonel N.'s battalion attacked the battery and completely destroyed it.

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For the prompt solution of fire missions, the TSO units operating in this direction were assigned a mortar battery of the 183rd MSP. Its observation post was located on the roof of the city council.

| In July, Lieutenant Colonel V.'s division destroyed a mortar battery and an ammunition depot in the Koshnitsa-Dorotskoye direction. The platoon of Cossacks, which guarded the firing positions of Lieutenant Colonel V.'s division, began to resent: "Here we are guarding you, and our comrades on the front line are fighting the Romanians, risking their lives. That's it, we'll go to the front tomorrow." The battalion commander took with him to the observation post, which was on the front line, the commander and several Cossacks.

On July 2, a division of the 328th SAP destroyed a mortar battery, an observation post, and a police convoy. The enemy lost up to 150 men and seven vehicles. The Cossacks who were at the observation post arrived at the firing positions and said to their comrades: "Guys, from today we will not only protect them, but we will also prepare food for them and dig trenches for them. What they did today, we can't do in a month."

For a week A.I. Swan did a great job. I was just amazed at his performance. It seemed that he was on his feet for 25 hours a day. June 24 in Bender, June 25 - Dubossary and Rybnitsa. In the intervals between flights — meetings, conferences.

He went into every detail in detail. A day later, an objective report to the General Staff with specific proposals on what needs to be done in order to increase the combat readiness of equipment and weapons.

Yu.M. Netkachev made every effort to dismantle the equipment and bring it into a state unsuitable for combat use. A.I. Lebed gave the commander of the 59th Motor Rifle Division, General V.M. Kozhevnikov has 24 hours to restore combat readiness.

All the services are up and running. The Ministry of Defense began to ask what we needed. Several planes arrived with batteries, weapons, reconnaissance devices. Only gunners received about 30 laser reconnaissance devices. It got to the point that even space intelligence sent pictures of the Moldovan side, albeit three days ago.

Commander of the RFA of the Ground Forces, Colonel General N.M. Dimidyuk gave a command to all military districts not to interfere with artillery officers who expressed a desire to leave for Transnistria. Many officers came to Tiraspol on holidays. In some artillery units, captains and majors worked as senior battery officers.

A.I. Lebed and V.V. Tikhomirov organized the work of the army headquarters in the way it should work in a combat situation. Everything was done quickly and discreetly. The execution of all orders was strictly controlled.

Lebed understood that it would be very difficult to force the Moldovan side to sit down at the negotiating table only with the measures and forces that are now participating in the conflict. The enemy respects only strength.

Therefore, he began to summon the deputies and heads of military branches and services to determine specific measures to suppress hostilities on the part of the Moldovan armed forces.

I remember he called me and asked: "Your proposals for the fire defeat of the enemy?" By this time, all artillery had been understaffed and deployed to wartime states. Combat coordination was carried out with all units. Artillery units and subunits were in the areas allocated for them in a 15-minute readiness for opening fire.

I proposed to prepare an artillery strike against 10 targets, with fuel depots, ammunition depots and command posts as targets for destruction. The artillery strike itself should be carried out at night (at 3-4 am).

Alexander Ivanovich asked: "Why is it necessary to strike an artillery strike at night?" To which I answered him: "It's more terrible. At night, fear's eyes become even larger than during the day.

My proposals as a whole were approved with a slight amendment. In addition to attacks on warehouses and command posts, Lebed ordered strikes on the recreation centers of enemy personnel.

At the headquarters of the RVIA of the army, the operational duty officer kept a log of combat operations all the time, in which all orders and instructions given and received, both verbally and received by phone, were recorded, indicating from whom and at what time these orders were received and orders and to whom they are given. All orders were given orally. During the entire period of hostilities, I did not receive a single written order to launch artillery strikes from either

the chief of staff of the army, nor from the commander of the army. But I was sure that A.I. The swan will not refuse his verbal orders.

Other heads of military branches and services were also called. They were also given specific tasks.

Assistant for educational work with personnel Colonel A.M. Baranov and the head of army intelligence, Colonel S.F. Kharlamov spread information that A.I. Lebed agreed with his brother, the commander of the 300th Airborne Regiment, to hit the Moldavian army one fine day from both sides and capture Chisinau.

The entry of the tank regiment of the 59th Motor Rifle Division into the territory of the Bendery Fortress could be regarded as evidence of the preparation and implementation of such a plan. At the same time, one tank and one motorized rifle battalion was transferred to the south near the village of Slobodzeya and the town of Dnestrovsk.

On July 2, the Moldovan side shelled the city of Dubossary. Again killed and wounded. Direct hit

The projectile destroyed the turbine control system at the hydroelectric power station. A sharp rise in the water level in the reservoir began. This already threatened an ecological catastrophe not only for the left, but also for the right bank.

By the end of July 2, the head of intelligence of the MFA of the army prepared a list of targets (we double-checked the coordinates of these targets for three days so that there was no mistake). Three recreation centers of the Moldavian OPON, the police and the regular army (one is south of the village of Slobodzeya, the other is in the Gerbovetsky forest, the third is a rest house south of the village of Golerkany), three fuel depots, three artillery batteries and one command post.

On the night of July 2-3, from 3:00 to 3:45 a.m., eight artillery battalions and six mortar batteries fired at the above-mentioned targets.

Eyewitnesses claimed that after such a blow, for two days, ambulances collected from all over Moldova took out the wounded. The dead were buried here, and the relatives of the dead were later told that they had all deserted from the army and were outside Moldova.

The soldiers and officers of Moldova took this blow hard. They were set up to quickly and easily defeat the separatists from the Left Bank, and then ... The morale of the Moldovan army dropped to zero.

On the same night, in the morning, I received a call from the city line, the former chief of staff of the 4th Army Artillery

artillery regiment, and at that time the commander of the Moldovan artillery brigade, Lieutenant Colonel V.I. Don-tsul. He shouted over the phone: "Mr. Colonel, what are you doing, stop immediately, otherwise we will now, with the help of the ARC (artillery reconnaissance complex), detect your artillery and destroy it." To which he received the answer: "If you can, then come on."

The Chisinau leaders began to panic. Everyone expected from day to day the actions of the Lebed brothers and the offensive of the tanks of the 14th Army.

On July 3, a meeting of the Presidents of the Republic of Moldova and Russia took place in Moscow. Representatives from the PMR were not present at it. Decisions were made to: cease hostilities and disengage the warring forces; determine the political status of Transnistria; withdraw units of the 14th Army in accordance with bilateral agreements, but only after the implementation of the first two points; to form and send units from the Russian Airborne Forces to Transnistria to carry out a peacekeeping mission. President of the Russian Federation B.N. Yeltsin expressed the following opinion: the Republic of Moldova should be united, the TMR within the framework of a single state should have its own

political status; The Russian Federation is categorically against the unification of Moldova and Romania.

July 4 A.I. Lebed made a statement at the press conference. The full text of the statement is given in the book by A.I. Lebed "It's a shame for the state." In it, he gave a full and objective assessment of the events taking place in Pri

Dniester, and a characterization of the President of the Republic of Moldova, Mircea Snegur.

A.I. Lebed gave examples of mercenaries fighting on the side of the Republic of Moldova. Thus, 32 Romanian volunteer pilots for the MiG-29 were deployed to the Marculesti airfield. Another 10 MIG-25 aircraft are expected to arrive in the near future. The pilots are Romanian, the identification marks are from the Republic of Moldova. The formation and combat coordination of a special forces detachment is being completed at the former training center of the Airborne Forces in Bulboaky. The instructors are Romanian, the BMP and BMD crews are formed by Romanian officers and enlisted personnel. The influx of snipers from Lithuania and Latvia increased sharply. Among the captured trophies at the Kocieri and Koshnitsa bridgeheads were two armored personnel carriers-80, which are in service only in the Romanian army, several machine guns and grenade launchers of Romanian production. 122-mm agricultural, 122-mm M-30 and 152-mm D-1 howitzers were found at firing positions. Not a single self-propelled gun of 122-mm caliber 2S1 or 122-mm M-30 and 152-mm howitzer D-1 was transferred to the Moldovan side. The BM-21 Grad rocket launchers were also not transferred.

In early April 1992, Russky Vestnik wrote: "Romanians are also participating in the battles against the defenders of Transnistria ... So, on March 11, at the Moldavian railway station Pyrlitsa, in car number 833-16604, 32 coffins with bodies were sent to Romania

of our Romanian volunteers who took part in the operation of the Moldovan-Romanian special services "Trojan Horse".

To say that everyone was shocked by this statement is an understatement.

A.I. Lebed called a spade a spade, gave an assessment of the actions of all the political leaders of the countries involved or involved in this conflict. He stated that the President of the Republic of Moldova, Mircea Snegur, is a fascist and that he unleashed a genocide against his own people. Everyone was dumbfounded when quotes from A.I. Swan, especially about goats and carrots. People understood what it was about.

The Moldovan side assessed this statement as interference in its internal affairs and protested. On July 5, Russian Defense Minister P.S. Grachev, apparently, after the suggestion made by B.N. Yeltsin, sent a coded message to Lebed, in which he ordered negotiations with the President of the Republic of Moldova, Mircea Snegur, and categorically forbade speaking on radio, television, in the press and giving an assessment of current events.

At a press conference on July 4, 1992, the commander of the 14th Army, Major General Alexander Lebed, said:

These people have always lived in peace with each other. Here they were born, grew up, here are the graves of their ancestors. This is a genocide against one's own

people ... People live here who are systematically, jesuitically, brutally destroyed. Moreover, they are destroyed in such a way that the SS men of the 50-year-old model are just jerks in front of them.

On the Transnistrian side alone, as of July 4, the number of people killed reached 650, and the wounded - 4,000. The vast majority of those killed and wounded were civilians...

In the summer of 1992, in his extremely harsh appeals to Yeltsin, Lebed called on the Russian leadership to decide on Transnistria: "It's time to stop hanging out in the swamp of obscure, incomprehensible politics..."

In the same spirit, the press conference of the army commander, which he held on July 4, 1992, was maintained, saying, in particular, that "the shadow of fascism has fallen on the fertile Transnistrian land." And then words were spoken that led to a noisy international scandal and an angry squabble between the army commander and the minister of defense. Here is this quote-bomb, the fragments of which instantly flew to the office of P.S. Grachev.

Lebed about the President of the Republic of Moldova Mircea Snegur: "...Instead of the state leadership, he organized a fascist state, and his clique is fascist..."

After that, a very temperamental blitz-correspondence took place between the minister and the army commander. The archives of the General Staff contain ciphers telling about her

content.

Grachev - Lebed:

"I categorically forbid speaking on radio, television and in the press, giving an assessment of current events. Get in touch by phone with Moldovan President Snegur. Share your opinion with him on the current situation.

Swan - Grachev:

"In the current situation, I consider it unacceptable and erroneous on my part to have any contacts and conversations with the President of Moldova, who stained his hands and conscience with the blood of his own people."

Grachev - Lebed:

"You were ordered to enter into negotiations with the President of Moldova, but you, having not deeply analyzed the political situation that has developed recently between the presidents of Russia and Moldova, are behaving extremely short-sightedly. Based on the foregoing, I order:

Fulfill my demand, regardless of your subjective opinion, to enter into contact with the President of Moldova, Mircea Snegur. Report on the clarification of the task received.

Swan - Grachev:

"With all due respect to you, I will not enter into negotiations with Snegur. I am a general of the Russian Army and I do not intend to betray it "(Baranets V.N. The General Staff without secrets).

On July 4, our artillery fired propaganda shells, covering the Kitskansky and Kochiersky parade grounds.

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darmas. The leaflets warned that it was better for the Moldavian army to go home, otherwise it would be worse.

By the end of July 4, the Moldovan side requested a truce. True, on July 7, 8 and 9 in some places there was a shootout between the warring parties. So, on July 7, the Moldovan side fired on the village of Tsybulevka from the Grad installation. On July 8, as a result of artillery shelling of the city of Dubossary, 9 heads of enterprises and farms were killed

district. Our artillery fired illuminating shells in order to frighten the restless warriors. There was already enough blood.

Here I would like to talk separately about the peculiarities of the use of artillery by the opposing sides.

From the 14th Army:

From the very beginning to the end of the armed conflict, the main tasks of fire engagement were: suppression and destruction of firing artillery and mortar batteries and command and observation posts; destruction of warehouses with ammunition and fuel and lubricants; destruction of crossings and unloading stations; destruction of suitable reserves; the desire to prevent the enemy from firing at populated areas and industrial enterprises (for details, see appendices 2, 3).

At the same time, during the performance of such specified fire missions, it was necessary to completely exclude the infliction of material damage to civilian objects.

there.

During the first seven days of hostilities, the army's RV&A headquarters completely took control of combat-ready units, freeing the unit headquarters and the 59th Motor Rifle Division's headquarters from combat operations, giving them time to mobilize and conduct combat coordination of units.

Combat coordination was carried out without waiting for the battery to be fully staffed. The recruitment of the platoon was completed, it was immediately sent to firing positions, and already there combat coordination was carried out.

In the same period, the headquarters of the MFA of the army took over the functions of comprehensively supporting combat operations and organizing interaction with other branches of the military and armed formations of the PMR, namely: all firing positions of artillery were covered by air defense units; for each artillery battery, engineering units were fully equipped with three to five firing positions; areas of firing positions of divisions and individual batteries were guarded by motorized rifle units (up to a platoon) of Cossacks or guards; For covert and quick control of subunits, the telephones of the city telephone exchange were installed by signalmen of the army at each firing position.

A) organization of intelligence.

Together with the main command and observation posts (CNP), which were located, as a rule, at a distance of 4-6 km from the front line, they were widely used

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were called PNP (forward) and BNP (side) observation posts. They were located in the combat formations of the armed formations of the PMR. Observers from the TMR armed formations were also used, they sometimes corrected the fire of our artillery and mortar batteries.

The officers of the headquarters of the MFA of the army constantly carried out aerial reconnaissance using a helicopter. Radio interception data and data transmitted by civilians were widely used. persons.

All reconnaissance information flowed to the headquarters of the MFA of the army, where it was carefully summarized and analyzed, and only after that its exact coordinates were transmitted to the firing units to determine the installations for shooting to kill.

The absence of sound reconnaissance and radar reconnaissance specialists in the army greatly hampered reconnaissance at night, and especially the detection of firing batteries.

B) Meteorological preparation.

In addition to meteorological posts in the divisions (landing meteorological kits), two meteorological stations were deployed and constantly operated (one from the 173rd missile brigade, the other from the 59th meteorological division). "Meteorological" was transmitted over its network every 6 hours.

C) Topogeodetic preparation.

Narrow strip of PMR (from 5 to 40 kilometers) wide, open area, a large number
inhabited

points on the left bank greatly reduced the opportunities for maneuvering artillery.

For each firing battery, 3-5 firing positions were prepared, the coordinates of which were determined in advance using navigation equipment or instruments from points of geodetic networks, contour points of maps 1: 25,000 or 1: 50,000.

The directional angles of the reference directions were determined by astronomical (according to the sun) or gyroscopic methods.

All the work done to a large extent contributed to the fact that the tasks assigned to the artillery of the 14th Army were completed, and without any losses.

The following can also be attributed to the peculiarities in the tactics of our artillery operations:

1. At the initial stage of the conflict, the use of nomadic guns, guns allocated for direct fire, was practiced. This misled the opposite side when determining the number of batteries ready for firing, and direct fire sowed panic among the personnel and terrified the opposite side. On June 21, one 152-mm Akatsiya self-propelled howitzer destroyed a mortar battery located on the territory of a convoy in the village of Varnitsa with direct fire. At the same time, without destroying the convoy on the territory

not a single building.

2. Due to the fact that the right bank is higher and the left bank is visible far away, mortar batteries, in order to ensure their firing range, were forced to go to their previously prepared firing positions at night.

3. Frequent change of firing positions was practiced. As a rule, no more than two firing tasks were carried out from one firing position.

4. Many fire missions were carried out at night, which greatly demoralized the enemy, and most of the artillery was involved.

5. For 20 days, part of the units was constantly on combat duty. In each division, in 5-minute readiness for opening fire, there was one battery.

6. Shooting was widely used using various types of ammunition (actively reactive, cluster, with ready-made lethal elements, lighting, propaganda) and types of fuses (V-90, DTM-75). This gave a great effect when firing at mortar batteries, which were located on the roofs of houses. Mortar fire was also used at targets located in the city.

7. The main way to determine the settings for shooting to kill was the transfer of fire from a previously zeroed target and complete preparation.

8. Due to the large size of targets, and sometimes their inaccurate coordinates, the order of fire destruction of a specific target was not carried out according to the maximum

capabilities of the artillery involved, but by the actual size of the target.

9. A maneuver was planned in advance and carried out by artillery fire along the front. Most of the artillery units and subunits were concentrated in the Bendery direction, however, this did not prevent the transfer of fire of 1–2 divisions to the Kitskansk direction within 5-10 minutes, and, conversely, from the Sukleya area, fire was often transferred to the Kaushanskoye and Bendery directions. This made it possible to quickly concentrate the fire of most of the artillery on the threatened direction.

From the side of Moldova:

At the beginning of hostilities, most of the artillery units were advanced as close as possible to the banks of the Dniester River, and some of the artillery was advanced to direct fire (in the city of Bendery).

In the period from 20 to 22 June, after the return fire, the Moldovan side suffered losses, the personnel who had been under fire were morally suppressed. As a result, the Moldovan side was forced to change the tactics of artillery operations. Namely:

1. The firing positions were moved away from the line of contact to a distance of 5 to 20 kilometers, i.e. outside the range of fire of artillery systems in service with Levobere-

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2. The firing positions of mortar batteries in the city of Bendery, the villages of Varnitsa, Koshnitsa, Dorotskoe, Kitskany, as a rule, were located on the territory of industrial enterprises, in schools, in hospitals, in the village of Kitskany on the territory of the monastery. .

According to the chairman of the collective farm "Druzhba" (the village of Protyagailovka) D.A. Matchina, starting from June 20, the city was shelled by Moldovan artillery. From the direction of the poultry farm, howitzers hit the city. Then two KamAZ trucks and a yellow UAZ began to appear on the outskirts of the village. Mortars were installed in the bodies of KamAZ trucks, and a crew was sitting in the UAZ. Throw mines into the city and immediately withdraw from the position. All this was done, apparently, with the aim of firing with impunity.

3. Many single guns were put up, which fired day and night. Shooting was carried out aimlessly, over large areas.

4. Some of the artillery pieces were located in trenches with concrete floors (the village of Kitskany). They rolled out of the caponiers and systematically fired.

5. Single mortars were placed on the roofs of multi-storey buildings (the city of Bendery), and the first floors of these houses were occupied by the OPON forces or volunteers, and on the upper floors there were civilians who were not released from there and served as a kind of living shield.

6. Shooting was carried out mainly at night, aimlessly. In Bendery and Dubossary, firing was carried out on city

quarters, industrial enterprises, keeping the civilian population in constant fear.

Chairman of the City Council Bender V.V. Kohut gave data on the destruction and losses in the city. The city economy was damaged in the amount of about 4.3 billion rubles, or 3.7 million US dollars. 326 residential buildings with a total area of 160 thousand square meters were damaged. m, 112 houses of the private sector and 9 dormitories were completely destroyed, 11 schools, 4 secondary specialized educational institutions, 6 kindergartens, 14 institutions of healthcare, culture and sports were damaged, about 380 km of engineering communications were disabled. 1.5 billion rubles are required to restore facilities that ensure the life of the city.

During the hostilities, 37 enterprises and organizations, 8 administrative buildings, 23 shops were damaged and looted. The total amount of damage caused to enterprises reaches 3 billion. During the hostilities, 80 thousand refugees left Bendery. Losses among the civilian population amounted to 342 dead, 672 wounded and 64 missing.
lead.

In the Grigoriopol region, 35 people died, 55 were injured. The damage amounted to about 300 thousand US dollars.

In the Kamensky district, 3 people were killed and 5 people were injured.

In the city of Rybnitsa and the Rybnitsa region, 31 people were killed, 75 people were injured.

In the Slobodzeya district, 38 people were killed, 24 were injured, and 2 people were missing. Damage amounted to about | million US dollars.

As a result of the shelling of the city of Dubossary and the Dubossary district, 173 people were killed, 373 were injured, 23 people went missing, more than 500 houses were damaged, including 100 houses completely destroyed. Damage amounted to US\$2.8 million.

Tiraspol lost 118 people killed, 58 wounded, 2 people missing.

Losses among the military formations of the PMR amounted to: the Ministry of Defense - 342 were killed, 385 were wounded; Ministry of State Security - 39 killed, 110 injured; Ministry of the Interior - 14 killed, 63 injured; Black Sea Cossack Army - 82 killed, 69 wounded.

In 2001, the State Archives of the PMR carried out work to collect information about the damage caused to the people of Transnistria during the military aggression by Moldova in 1990-1992. As a result of a 10-month research work, the final data on the damage suffered by Transnistria were summed up. For the first time, consolidated alphabetical lists of the dead, wounded and missing were compiled. During the hostilities, 809 Pridnestrovians were killed, 271 of them were civilians, about 4 thousand were injured. Material damage exceeding \$7.5 million was inflicted.

For the first time, the Moldovan side published its data on losses in June 1992. 82 people died in the conflict, 482 were wounded. Of these, in the national army - 32 people were killed, 203 were wounded; in the Ministry of Internal Affairs - 19 killed, 132 wounded; among Moldovan volunteers — 16 killed, 74 wounded; among civilians - 15 people were killed, 73 were injured. The figures are clearly underestimated.

For the second time, data on losses were published in the article "The problem of refugees and displaced persons in the Republic of Moldova" (authors Valery Mosneaga, Platon Fruntas): "In total, during the armed conflict (March-July 1992), about 800 people died century (320 people from the constitutional forces of the Republic of Moldova and 425 people from the Transnistrian side), about 130 thousand refugees and displaced persons were registered in the Republic of Moldova, Ukraine, Belarus and Russia. The material damage amounted to about 400 million US dollars".

For the third time, the data were published in the article "Moldova celebrated the anniversary of the start of the war on the Dniester". According to the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Moldova, about 30 thousand combatants, supporters of the statehood of the Republic of Moldova, took part in the war on the Dniester in 1992. During the armed conflict, about 300 combatants were killed, more than 250 people became disabled people. About 800 people died on both sides in the war on the Dniester (BASA-PRESS, March 2, 2006).

According to the assessment of the Transnistrian side, the losses of Moldova amounted, according to the data for 1994, to about 3,000 people killed and about 9,000 wounded. We will not know the exact figures until Moldova opens its archives.

The following chronology is as follows.

On July 7, at the military airfield in the village of Limanskoe (Ukraine), a meeting took place between the Pridnestrovian and Moldovan sides through the mediation of Russia. The Russian side was represented by the Commander-in-Chief of the Ground Forces, Colonel-General V.M. Semyonov and A.I. Swan. By 24 hours, the parties had reached the terms of a temporary truce.

On July 9, in Helsinki, the presidents of Russia, Romania and Moldova signed an agreement on a ceasefire in Transnistria.

On July 14, Vice-President of the Russian Federation A.V. Rutskoy and Minister of State Security V.P. Barannikov. Having held meetings in Chisinau and Tiraspol, they spent most of their time commanding the 14th Army and determining its status on the territory of the Republic of Moldova.

On July 16, posts of the 14th Army were set up between the warring parties. It was a big risk, but A.I. Lebed warned everyone that if there was at least one attack on the posts, then they would deal with him. The risk paid off.

On the same day, a statement from the 14th Army officers' meeting was sent to the Russian Minister of Defense. It expressed concern about the current situation in the region and the future fate of the army.

On July 21 in Moscow, President of the Republic of Moldova Mircea Snegur and President of the PMR I.N. Smirnov in the presence of B.N. Yeltsin, an agreement was signed on the peaceful settlement of the Transnistrian conflict and a decision was made to deploy peacekeeping forces.

On July 29, 53 military transport aircraft with paratroopers landed at the airfield of the city of Tiraspol. It was an impressive sight. Everyone who was present at this, experienced pride in the state. Everyone had the confidence that if we want to do something, we will do it.

By evening, the landing units had already left for the separation line. One should have seen with what joy the inhabitants of Bendery greeted the column of paratroopers...

Time passed, and the events of July 1992 began to be forgotten. The leadership of the PMR has been trying for two decades to prove that the decisive role in the elimination of the armed conflict was played by the armed formations of the republic, and not by the 14th Army.

No one disputes the fact that the defenders of Transnistria, armed with only small arms, showed heroism in the battles for Bendery, on the Koshnitsky and Kochier bridgeheads. But on whose side

would there not have been a victory if the 14th army had not intervened in the events?

"General A.I. Lebed, appointed commander of the 14th

Russian army, - historians N.V. wrote in 1993. Babilung and B.G. Bomeshko. - He managed to do something that neither the commission of the Moldovan Parliament, nor the UN commission, nor the military observers of Moldova, Russia, Ukraine and Romania could do. It was General A.I. Lebed began to separate the conflicting military formations. His honest, unequivocal, clear-cut position of "armed neutrality" showed the aggressor that the period of impunity was over. The Chisinau regime has learned a sobering lesson, the effect of which will probably not lose its impressive functions for a long time to come."

The fact of awarding a large group of artillery officers of the 59th division with the state award of the TMR "Defender of Transnistria" speaks for itself. Eloquent is the fact that the Moldovan side initiated criminal cases against a large group of generals and officers of the 14th Army for participating in hostilities.

The fact that the 14th Army played an important, if not decisive, role in resolving the conflict is also evidenced by this fact. Before the provocations in Bendery subsided, international

home observers. Everyone suddenly began to worry about the withdrawal of the 14th Army from Transnistria.

Here is what V.N. Baranets in the book "The General Staff Without Secrets": "Lebed did not hide his pride that, thanks to his firm position and tough appeals to the president, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Defense of Russia, Moscow was forced to seek a political compromise with Chisinau - July 21, 1992 The Agreement on the Peaceful Settlement of the Conflict was signed, and on July 29 Russia sent its peacekeeping forces to Transnistria. Clearly alluding to his personal role in this turn of events, Lebed said: "After all, it is great - the power of words, especially when said in time ..." However, neither this Agreement nor the appearance of Russian peacekeepers on the banks of the Dniester was removed from on the agenda, the most difficult issue for relations between Moscow and Chisinau is the fate of Lebed's army. The Moldovan leadership continued to actively insist on its withdrawal from the region, while the Russian leadership maneuvered away from formulating a clear position. The Moldovan authorities stubbornly put pressure on Yeltsin and the Russian Foreign Ministry, increasingly attracting Western countries, the leadership of NATO and the Council of Europe to their side. After another meeting between Yeltsin and Snegur, rumors spread around the General Staff that a secret agreement had allegedly been reached on the withdrawal of the 14th Army from Transnistria. This news instantly reaches Tiraspol and causes stormy indignation among Lebed's subordinates.

On September 6, 1992, the army commander holds an officer meeting, which adopts an appeal to the Russian Minister of Defense. It said: "Persistent exaggeration of various kinds of rumors about the fate of the 14th Army and, above all, its withdrawal to the territory of Russia in the near future does not stop. We repeatedly ask to give us clarity on these extremely important issues for every officer and his family, including in our open letter to B.N. Yeltsin on July 14, 1992, but did not receive an answer..."

And again, a quarrel breaks out between the commander and the Minister of Defense. On September 22, Grachev sends an angry cipher to the army headquarters, reproaching Lebed for dangerously "poking his nose into politics." The minister is trying to put the subordinate in his place: "...Never interfere in matters that are not assigned to you by functional duties. I repeat again, politics is the business of the political leadership and to some extent the Minister of Defense, and that's all, remember this once and for all. Replying to Lebed on the questions posed in the appeal, Grachev said: "The fate of 14 A will be decided after the fate of Transnistria is completely resolved by political means ... The army will come out only after the consent of the people of Transnistria and Moldova as a whole." In the same cipher, Grachev called all the noisy statements of Lebed "playing for the public with the aim of acquiring cheap capital." And he asked the commander: "Or am I being misled?" On the same day, September 22, Lebed replied defiantly to the minister: "You

are misleading." The fun duel continued. The next day, Grachev telegraphed the commander: "Your answer is so brief that, considering the average state of my mind, I did not understand anything. Report specifically on each item of my requirements and what work you are doing

You, the commander, for the eradication of hysteria, women's gossip, sustained in the spirit of the best traditions of former political workers ... With whom are you, to whom you obey, in which army you serve or wish to serve. The pure truth is important to me in order to make the final decision about our joint or separate service." Lebed replied to the minister with a huge cipher telegram, in which he again insisted that the leadership of the country and the Armed Forces give clear answers to the numerous questions of the army personnel regarding its future fate. At the same time, he did not hide his indignation at the fact that Moscow was behaving too passively in resolving pressing issues and thus putting his army in a difficult position. Lebed asked Grachev: "Why is no one negotiating with the Transnistrian government, whether it is recognized or not, it exists..." diplomat, on whom I would with great pleasure dump the burden of clearing up this mess that is brewed here and removing all the political stresses that arise not only every day, but also several times a day.

once a day..."

Commander-14 proposed his own plan for relieving the tension that had arisen in the army and around it. Lebed outlined this plan on September 22, 1992 in secret cipher No. 8/620/K addressed to the Chief of the General Staff, General V. Dubynin. It contained specific proposals for the reorganization of the army. Addressing the minister personally, the commander wrote: "I assure you that these are balanced proposals that will allow Moldova to close the mouth, indicating a withdrawal, and Pridnestrovie ..." Having received this report from Lebed, Grachev on the same day (24.09.1992) answered the commander: "For the sake of encouraging me with your last report. 14 A stood and will stand for as long as necessary in the interests of Russia. Calm yourself and calm your subordinates. Get rid of unnecessary army units, replenish combat units at their expense. You are a military officer, not a former employee of the Central Committee of the CPSU, I believe you and hope for you..." But Lebed failed to calm down.

Not much time will pass, and Grachev, under pressure from the Kremlin and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (which, in turn, was under pressure from Chisinau), will be forced to start reforming the 14th Army, which Lebed will regard as its "winding down". He will stubbornly and noisily oppose it. After Lebed's loud public quarrels with Yeltsin, Kozyrev and Grachev, the general was noisily kicked out of Tiraspol, and he cheerfully entered politics with a marching step, causing the Kremlin even more anxiety than in his Pridnestrovian headquarters ... "(Baranets V.N. General headquarters without secrets).

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The PMR authorities addressed B.N. Yeltsin with a demand to leave the 14th Army at the place of deployment as a guarantor of peace on this earth. In the period from July 25 to August 10, 1992, 116 thousand 187 signatures were collected (which is 87% of the TMR voters) in support of the army. All signatures were delivered to the reception room of the President of Russia B.N. Yeltsin.

September 22, 1992 A.I. Lebed was awarded the military rank of lieutenant general. In an interview with NSN on May 18, 1996, A.I. Lebed said that he received this military rank on the "sixth attempt."

According to him, the "first attempt" was in September 1991, when Lebed refused to consider himself as "the heroic defenders of the White House", saying: "It is known from history that about 3 thousand people helped Lenin carry the log on the famous subbotnik, and there are about 3 million defenders of the White House, and I am afraid to get lost in such a huge heroic crowd and officially renounce the status of defender of the White House. Here I was crossed out for the first time. For the fifth time, on July 7, 1992, Lebed, according to him, was crossed out personally by the president. Lebed explained this by saying that on July 4 he "delivered a short speech about goats with carrots. The President decided that he was a goat who goes for carrots in foreign countries. He was offended and personally carefully polished me from the promotion lists." According to Lebed, "the sixth attempt was successful because there was simply enough pressure from the public

opinions, the war stopped. She didn't stop anywhere, but here she stopped."

In 2002, by decree of the President of the Pridnestrovian Moldavian Republic, five statesmen of the Russian Federation were awarded the medal "Participant in the Peacekeeping Operation in Pridnestrovie". The first in the list of honor is Lieutenant General, ex-commander of the 14th Army of Russia Alexander Ivanovich Lebed (posthumously). And this is despite the generally negative attitude of the PMR leadership towards the personality of A.I. swan.

Lebed was awarded for his great personal contribution to the peaceful settlement of the Transnistrian conflict, participation in the planning and implementation of measures to establish and maintain peace, while showing political will, initiative, and perseverance. B.N. Yeltsin, A.V. Rutskoi, A.V. Kozyrev and V.V. Putin.

The top leadership of Russia has not appreciated his role in resolving the armed conflict to this day.

Section III WHEN THE FIGHTS DEAD OUT

The armed phase of the conflict is over. The time has come to solve the problems of peacetime. And they were no less complex than military affairs. "If you want peace, prepare for war" were not empty words for A.I. swan. Therefore, he began to create an army almost anew. He understood perfectly well that only a strong army is the guarantor of peace. And Lebed did an excellent job with this. The first question is to legalize the division of property and armaments. Here we recall that in total in the 14th Army there were 89 diverse and motley formations and units with their property and weapons.

According to the agreements reached on October 21, 1992, between the Ministry of Defense of Russia and the Republic of Moldova, it was planned to divide the weapons, equipment and property of the 14th Army as follows: Moldova - 35%, Russia - 65%, and Transnistria nothing was expected at all. But the army de facto stood on the territory of Transnistria, albeit not recognized. President of Pridnestrovie I.N. Smirnov, in response to such a division, issued a decree on February 15, 1993, in

according to which all weapons, equipment and property of the 14th army, located on the territory of the PMR, were declared the property of the people of Transnistria. And while the army will be on the territory of the PMR, it can use this equipment, weapons and property. The local authorities stated that "Moldova received its part of the weapons, and these weapons rightfully belong to the people of Transnistria, since our people also participated in its creation, paid taxes, and we also want to get our share."

In practice, weapons are under the control and protection of the 14th Army. And only the tough position of the command on this issue stopped the looting and criminal sales.

The leadership of both Moldova and Transnistria wanted to get their hands on weapons not only in order to arm their armies. It was well aware that these weapons cost a lot of money and would be in demand on the market for a long time to come. As the subsequent development of events showed, A.I. Lebed turned out to be absolutely right in this matter.

Later, some of the equipment was sold or given away by the leadership of the Republic of Moldova to pay off debts for the weapons supplied to it during the armed conflict and the help.

Here is what the Vremya Novostey newspaper wrote on July 29, 2002 in the article "MiGs are flying to the elections": "The Moldovan parliament completed hearings on the sale of military equipment, including MiG-29 aircraft

inheritance from the Soviet army, and issued a verdict: transactions were made in violation of the law and to the detriment of the country.

The Parliamentary National Security Commission examined the documents on the basis of which MiGs were sold since 1992 and interviewed 20 people, including ex-president Petru Lucinschi, former prime ministers Andrei Sangheli, Ion Ciubuc, Dumitru Braghis. According to the chairman of the commission, Yuri Stoykov, only the first president of Moldova, Mircea Snegur, refused to come to the commission and answer questions.

Meanwhile, it was under him in 1992, as the deputies say, that the first MiG-29 was presented to Romania, rather than being sold. And this happened at the very time when an armed conflict broke out on the Dniester. Now they say that the present to the neighboring country was made not for selfish reasons, but in exchange for help. It is easy to guess what kind of help it was, it is not a secret for a long time that the Moldovan army used Romanian artillery and small arms in the war with Transnistria. As for the MiG, transferred to the Romanian Air Force on account of debts for providing assistance during the armed conflict, then, as the parliamentary commission established, the decision was made bypassing the parliament and the cabinet of ministers, moreover, without any documents.

In 1994, under the rule of the same Snegur, four MiGs were sold to South Yemen. These planes with Moldavian pilots working under contract, with

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took part in the war in the Arabian Peninsula. Two of them were shot down, the pilots were captured, but survived and returned to their homeland. The deal was valued at \$19 million, but the Ministry of Defense of Moldova, acting as the seller, received only \$2 million of this money.

Two years later, in the midst of the presidential elections in Moldova, Mircea Snegur signed a document for the sale of 21 more MiG-29s, this time to the Koreans. The contract amount is 93 million 718 thousand dollars. Then the contract was canceled because Iraq offered better terms."

Worried about the situation, the American State Department then offered to repurchase Moldovan planes. After the change of government, the new head of the Ministry of Defense, Valery Passat, allegedly reconsidered this decision and in 1997 sold the same aircraft to the United States. The Moldovans sold the aircraft, along with 500 R-73 air-to-air missiles and ground equipment, to the US Department of Defense for \$40 million.

In Ukraine, too, not all was well with the issue of the safety of weapons, which she inherited from the USSR. Here is what Interfax Ukraine reported on this matter on March 26, 2004:

"The loss of missiles in the Ukrainian armed forces concerns exclusively air defense missiles that were withdrawn from service with the USSR army back in the 80s. last century and inherited by independent Ukraine

Noah. They say they've been scrapped. Each such rocket contains gold, silver, and the platinum group of metals. Where are the results of recycling? Strange things sometimes happen," Defense Minister Yevgeny Marchuk said at the time.

However, the head of the press service of the General Prosecutor's Office of Ukraine, Serhiy Rudenko, made a sensational statement during an ordinary weekly briefing: "As for the missiles, they were taken out of the territory of Ukraine, and an official and a limited liability company were held accountable for this. . As for the other participants in the criminal case, they will also be taken into custody as soon as their whereabouts are discovered. The criminal case has been submitted to the court."

On March 18, 2005, Ukraine acknowledged the sale of cruise missiles to Iran and China, reports Etapsla 'Tites. The publication cites the words of the Prosecutor General of Ukraine Svyatoslav Piskun that in 2001, 12 X-55 missiles and a set of KNO-120 ground equipment were sold to Iran, and China

- six missiles. Although Ukraine has signed an obligation not to distribute strategic offensive weapons.

The author of the article, Tom Warner, notes that although the missiles were not equipped with nuclear warheads, Japan and the United States are concerned about the possible leakage of missile technology. Japan fears that it could be under the threat of a nuclear strike if Ukrainian missiles somehow hit North Korea. Ukrainian ra

Kh-55 missiles have a range of 3,000 kilometers and can reach Israeli territory when launched from Iran.

... They are waiting for their disclosure of the story with the sale of anti-aircraft missile systems, multiple launch rocket systems, ground support systems, and all this to countries such as Iran, Iraq, Syria."

At the end of hostilities, A.I. Lebed began to re-create the army - the guarantor of peace in the land of Transnistria. A complete audit of weapons, ammunition, equipment, military camps and property of all formations and units was carried out. Huge work has been done to clarify all the weapons, equipment and ammunition that were captured from the warehouses of the 14th Army.

After the fighting ended, the army, which by that time had been deployed to wartime states, had to be transferred to peacetime states. But here serious difficulties arose. The personnel, who were called up from the reserve to military units, refused to hand over their weapons. People lived in war. The likelihood that hostilities could start again was very high. The people no longer believed the promises of politicians, they were promised a lot in recent years. People knew the value of promises.

A.I. Lebed deployed the army at his own peril and risk. There was no written directive from the General Staff, but how they refuse their oral orders and instructions

"great generals

tsy and politicians "at that troubled time, he knew perfectly well. It was still fresh in my memory how the first President of the USSR M.S. Gorbachev acted with the commander of the Transcaucasian Military District I.N. Rodionov for the events in Tbilisi. At the plenum of the Central Committee of the CPSU, he simply handed it over, as they hand over glass containers to collection points. I.N. Rodionov was to blame for everything that happened in Tbilisi. And in the Baltics, the military also turned out to be extreme, who conscientiously, risking their lives, performed their MILITARY DUTY.

All weapons, ammunition, equipment and property had to be officially handed over to the PMR authorities. A.I. Lebed understood perfectly well that no one is joking with weapons and that later they will start looking for the last ones. And as the further course of events showed, he turned out to be absolutely right.

A lot was captured by the local authorities. The act of transferring weapons, in fact, was only a legal registration of the fact that had taken place. But, signing it, A.I. Lebed sought recognition from the leadership of Transnistria that the weapons were in their possession and they were fully responsible for them. This means that in the future it (the leadership or weapons) can be controlled, and in which case there will be someone to ask.

During the command of the army, General Yu.M. Netkachev seized, stole and handed over more than 17 thousand machine guns, machine guns, rifles and pistols from the army warehouses. Anti-aircraft artillery - 23 units, ground artillery - 29, tanks - 19, BTR-70 - 41,

BMP-2 - 5. More than 150 units of vehicles for various purposes were stolen (see Annex 4).

From the headquarters of the Odessa Military District and the Ministry of Defense of Russia, certificates were requested for all equipment, weapons and property, for formations and units that became part of the 14th Army. This achieved two goals. First: everything superfluous and unnecessary is defined, i.e. something that could not fight and was burdensome both for the 14th Army and for the budget

Russia. Second: an attempt to illegally transfer military equipment and weapons to Pridnestrovian armed formations and theft was stopped.

In 1993, those formations and units that were located on the right bank of the Dniester were the first to withdraw to Russia. These were the 189th missile brigade of tactical missiles in the city of Balti (although General B.E. Pyankov claimed in 1992 that the missile systems of the 189th brigade were lost to us); 2nd pontoon-bridge regiment; 785th battalion of reconnaissance and detection of nuclear explosions; The 130th chemical defense battalion and the 173rd tactical missile brigade in the city of Bendery.

On December 21–29, 1993, the Government of Russia and the Government of the Republic of Moldova signed an agreement on the mutual transfer of weapons, military equipment and military technical property. According to it, the parties mutually undertook to transfer weapons, military equipment and military-technical

property necessary for the Armed Forces of the Russian Federation and the Armed Forces of the Republic of Moldova.

The document stipulated that the transferred weapons, military equipment (manufactured no earlier than 1985, with a mileage of no more than 10,000 km) and military equipment had to be technically sound, have individual and group sets of spare parts and accessories, technical and operational documentation. Transferred weapons, military equipment and military equipment were exempted from obtaining export permits, customs duties and other fees.

The parties agreed to ensure the transportation of weapons, military equipment and military technical equipment sent from their territories, rolling stock, loading devices and devices, removable military equipment and fastening materials.

The protection and escort of military transports when traveling by rail were to be carried out by military guards sent in the prescribed manner. At the same time, the Russian side ensured the allocation of guards for the export of weapons, military equipment and military-technical property from Moldova to Russia, and the Moldovan side - from Russia to Moldova.

The document also dealt with other issues related to the costs caused by the transportation of weapons

military equipment, provision of airfields on the territory of the Republic of Moldova, etc.

Annexes with a list of weapons, military equipment and documentation transferred to the Russian Federation and the Republic of Moldova (see Annex 5) became an integral part of the agreement.

During 1993-1994. 37 formations and units that were completely unnecessary in the army were disbanded; 25 echelons with engineering equipment and 3 echelons with communications equipment were sent. VTA aircraft removed 24 missiles for 8K14 missile systems (12 missiles each from the 173rd missile brigade and the 380th mobile repair base), rocket fuel was sent by rail.

A.I. Lebed, the Directorate of the MFA of the Ground Forces (Commander of the MFA, Colonel-General N.M. Dimidyuk) and the Directorate of Engineering Troops (Chief of the Engineering Troops, Colonel-General V.P. Kuznetsov).

Military camps (Slobodzeya, Parkany, Bendery, Balti) were handed over to the local authorities, which were vacated after the reduction of the named units. And these are barracks, and houses where officers lived, parks for military equipment and many other property.

The army lacked privates and sergeants. Only 1 percent of submitted applications came from Russia. Due to the personnel of the disbanded units were understaffed

combat units

59th division. Many officers asked to join the 14th Army. In 1992 alone, about fifty young officers, dismissed from the Armed Forces as a result of the collapse of the USSR, were returned to the 14th Army.

In a relatively short period of time, an effective officer corps was formed. In the management of the army A.I. Lebed managed to create a very friendly team. With his arrival, the civilian population again began to respect the people in uniform, the officers, ensigns and soldiers themselves felt that the Great Power was behind them.

A.I. Lebed obtained permission from the Ministry of Defense to complete the army with over-conscripts. They took the positions of commanders and drivers of tanks, infantry fighting vehicles and self-propelled artillery mounts.

At the beginning of 1993, A.I. Lebed said: "Soon I will have a competition among those who want to serve in the 14th Army, and I will not take everyone. They will have to earn the right to serve in our army."

At that time, many in the State Duma and the Ministry of Defense were talking about the need to create a professional army in Russia. Soon B.N. Yeltsin publicly declared that by the year 2000 the Russian army would be fully professional. But all this was just talk and election promises.

A year later, at the beginning of 1994, more than 60% of the army units were staffed with contract soldiers. More than 1,500 people have already served under the contract. And all

contractors served only in combat units. By the summer training period, the staffing of the army reached 90-92% of the regular requirement.

The swan was right this time too. Two years later, five or six people applied for one position as a contract soldier in the 14th Army. Naturally, the most worthy of those who expressed a desire to serve in the troops fell. More than half of the contractors were local residents. At that time, almost all factories and enterprises in Transnistria did not work, and the salary of the 14th Army was in Russian rubles and was an order of magnitude higher than in Transnistria. Therefore, they greatly valued their service and, as a rule, were real professionals.

The solution of the personnel issue made it possible to come to grips with combat training. A.I. Lebed firmly and sometimes harshly implemented the golden rule: "A soldier only becomes a soldier when he is 100% confident in himself and his commander and firmly knows that he can do everything that is not for him and cannot be there are impossible tasks".

The commander himself set an example in this. He not only systematically fired from all types of weapons, but was also the first to jump with a parachute when parachute training began. Arranged various kinds of competitions among the officers of the army administration.

In addition to combat training, it was necessary to guard weapons and ammunition. And this is neither more nor less than 1770 wagons, or 42 thousand tons. Besides,

in Giraspol, there were approximately 41,000 tons of engineering equipment in the engineering warehouse.

If Alexander Ivanovich did not know something, he never hesitated to ask and learn from his subordinates. After the start of the First Chechen campaign, often "great" military leaders and politicians began to give interviews in the media on such issues as precision weapons and "pinpoint strikes". They argued that by using systems such as Smerch, Uragan, Tochka, and artillery using precision-guided munitions, the federal troops would destroy Chechen fighters with their help and, at the same time, would cause practically no damage to settlements.

Somehow A.I. Lebed calls me and says: "Vyacheslav Nikolaevich, how much time do you need to prepare in order to conduct a lesson with me on the combat use of artillery?" Of course, I was shocked by such a question, but I answered: "A week". During this time, the headquarters of the MFA of the army prepared dozens of posters and diagrams for the upcoming classes.

A week later, he came to my office and said: "Close the doors." Before dinner I told him and explained everything he asked me about. Several times A.I. Lebed came to the rifle artillery range and watched the artillery officers firing from indirect firing positions.

After these classes, A.I. Lebed criticized the ongoing military campaign in Chechnya. In part

In fact, he said: "The use of "high-precision weapons" such as "Smerch", "Hurricane", "Grad", which was used to destroy area targets and destroy primarily civilians in settlements, is absolutely useless from the point of view of combat effectiveness against small mobile military formations of Chechen gangs".

In order for the artilleryman, tanker, air defense specialist not to be afraid of his equipment, it was necessary to shoot with a regular projectile at least once a year. But the Tiraspol test site, due to its size, did not allow this. In Ukraine, you can't work out, in Moldova they might not have returned the equipment, and the Moldovan leadership still well remembered the summer events of 1992 and what role the 14th Army played in them. To all our requests to the Russian Ministry of Defense to reach an agreement on this issue with the military department of Ukraine, the same answer followed: "Sit down and don't twitch."

Lebed was never afraid to make a decision and, most importantly, he never shifted responsibility onto the shoulders of his subordinates for certain consequences of the decisions made. He never hesitated to cancel his earlier decision if one or another subordinate could reasonably prove to him that the earlier decision was erroneous. At the same time, if the decision was made collectively, then when it was carried out, he showed all the qualities of a commander.

In 1993 A.I. Lebed made an agreement with the local authorities to carry out live artillery fire

would be on the kolkhoz fields that were empty in winter. Combat firing of artillery was carried out on the territory of the Grigoriopol region at the highest level. The chairman of the Grigoriopol region S.F. Leontiev. A message was given on the radio and in local newspapers that from such and such date to such and such date live artillery firing would be carried out in the indicated territory. The local population should not enter the specified area. Shooting will be carried out by the 14th Army together with the Armed Forces of the PMR.

On this occasion, the leadership of the Republic of Moldova made a terrible fuss and complained to all international organizations.

The answer was: "Let them complain even to the League of National Minorities. A soldier must drive, shoot and jump with a parachute in any conditions, in any situation, even if stones fall from the sky. After combat firing was completed, the sapper units of the army carried out a complete clearing of the land from unexploded shells and drew up an act on the suitability of the land for use for its intended purpose.

The Ministry of Defense of Russia was also alarmed and finally resolved the issue that A.I. The swan has long been placed in front of the military department. Starting from the summer (1993) training period, artillerymen, tankers, reconnaissance and air defense specialists began to go to live firing with a standard projectile on Russian

ligons. Tankers and scouts fired at the ranges of the Moscow and North Caucasian military districts, gunners at the Gorokhovetsky range of the Moscow military district, and air defense units fired at Yeysk.

Together with the gunners of the 59th Motor Rifle Division, gunners from the PMR went to the Gorokhovets training center with the permission of the army commander. It was necessary to train not only our own artillerymen, but also those henchmen who, in case of military danger, would come to resupply the army units.

Never on foreign training grounds and on foreign equipment did the personnel of the 14th Army shoot lower than the mark "good". The soldiers and officers were very proud to serve in the Lebed army. Representatives from the Ministry of Defense were always present at shootings and exercises and were sincerely surprised how we were able to achieve such a high level of field training.

Everywhere they asked: "What kind of person is this Swan? Why is he so popular in the 14th Army? Why is he respected?"

For the first time in my 25 years of service, I met a combined-arms (landing) commander who, having a healthy, as he often expressed himself, "landing chauvinism" in the positive sense of the word, understood very well that those two actions were not enough. , which are inherent in the Airborne Forces, namely "take away and divide", to achieve victory in battle. The General of the Airborne Forces understood that without artillery, air defense, communications and engineering troops

the assigned combat mission cannot be completed. I do not remember such a precedent in the armed forces that anywhere else, except for the 14th Army, artillery units and subunits were manned at the expense of motorized rifle subunits. There was always a turn.

New units and subunits appeared in the army, such as the military epidemiological detachment, the commandant's office of the VOSO, and special-purpose companies under the commandant's office of the Tiraspol garrison. Gynecological and children's departments began to function in the military hospital. Tiraspol since the time of A.V. Suvorov was a military city. In Tiraspol in the mid-1990s. about 20 thousand military pensioners and members of their families lived, and all of them were served by the 170th military hospital.

Commander of the 59th Motor Rifle Division Major General Yu.Yu. Popov took the standards for combat training of NATO troops and increased them one and a half times. The personnel of the special forces company did not know that the standards were too high, and six months later these standards were exceeded. The new combat training program was called "Russian Soldier of the Future".

A.I. Lebed often repeated: "A good army is an army that systematically flexes its muscles. This is an army that, by the mere fact of its presence, kills any thought of aggression in a potential adversary. They attack those who are weak. A soldier with a shovel is not a soldier. In combat units, the ratio should be

six to four. Let four wave shovels, but the other six must be militants, bison, professionals."

The Tiraspol training center, in terms of its size and purpose, was absolutely not suitable for conducting company and, even more so, battalion live-fire exercises. It was a military shooting range, where shooting from small arms and firing with an overhead (inset) barrel from tanks was carried out. Nevertheless, battalion exercises with live firing on a defensive theme began to be carried out on it.

The exercise was a bit truncated, as artillery and air defense could not carry out training tasks with live fire, but they were carried out. Artillery units were tied to a rifle artillery range. On it, artillery commanders performed fire missions against the backdrop of ongoing battalion exercises on introductory motorized rifle commanders.

vogo or tank battalion. Mortar batteries and anti-tank platoons of battalions carried out fire missions with a live shot.

Finding himself in such an extraordinary situation in 1992-1995, which developed in Transnistria, a man, it would seem, a military man to the marrow of his bones, solved, and quite successfully, issues and problems related to the competence of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and the Ministry of Defense, and local authorities.

In 1994 A.I. Lebed ensured that all officers, ensigns and members of their families, as well as contract soldiers of the 14th Army, received Russian citizenship. By May 1995 there were more than 10,000 such people in the army.

In the same 1994, A.I. The swan solved another very painful but very important issue. More than 30,000 Russian citizens lived on the territory of Transnistria at that time. Many families had high school graduates. In Transnistria, apart from Tiraspol University, there were no higher educational institutions, and there were practically no places for school graduates to study. Moldova and Ukraine did not accept citizens of Russia and citizens of the unrecognized republic to study at higher educational institutions or accepted them for paid education. But where did the officers and ensigns, who in terms of their income were equal to the category of citizens living below the poverty line, get the money to study? And Russian higher education institutions did not know what to do with applicants from neighboring countries, and even more so from the unrecognized republic.

Lebed ensured that a number of Russian higher educational institutions sent their representatives to Transnistria for final exams in the schools of the unrecognized republic. According to the results of final exams in schools, representatives of Russian higher educational institutions selected those wishing to study in these

educational institutions and subsequently accepted them without entrance examinations.

Up to 100 graduates of PMR schools became students annually. Mostly they were the children of officers and ensigns of the 14th Army.

The swan was loved and respected not only by the armies, but also by ordinary people in Transnistria. Here is a completely sincere assessment given in the resolution of the meeting of the 12,000-strong PCBW team and sent to the presidents of Russia and Ukraine on July 6, 1992: "His courage, clarity of action, high professionalism brought into the socio-psychological atmosphere of our glare of that stream of optimism, organization and faith, which all Pridnestrovians were looking forward to. We are sure that people like General A.I. Lebed is the pride of the Russian army."

In August 1993, the President of the PMR I.N. Smirnov told the Megapolis Express weekly: "As for the 'harm' that General Lebed allegedly inflicts on Transnistria, this is nothing but tabloid gossip. I do not know such facts. I think that General Lebed acts exclusively within the framework that is assigned to him by the higher command.

The newspaper "Dniester Meridian" in 1993 named him the person of the year in the PMR. In May 1993 A.I. Lebed was declared an honorary citizen of the city of Bendery. In August 1993 A.I. Lebed was elected to the Supreme Council of the PMR. 87% of the population voted for him, the second was the general director of the local

news agency "Olvia-press" Andrey Safonov with 6%.

In the spring of 1992, the 115th separate engineer-sapper battalion under the command of Lieutenant Colonel I.V. Dudkevich came under the jurisdiction of the PMR. The then commander of the 14th Army Yu.M. Netkachev ordered the entire battalion (meaning officers and ensigns) to be fired and personal files destroyed. And what is a military person dismissed from the army without a personal file? This is the same bum: no pension, no housing, no passport. A.I. Lebed contacted the Russian Ministry of Defense

This, explained why these people were fired, and achieved the cancellation of the earlier decision, preserving their officer honor and dignity, preserving the right to the life they deserved.

He also dealt with the construction of housing for officers and ensigns. A survey was conducted in the army where a retiring officer and ensign wants to live. As a result, housing construction began. For Lebed, the term "social security" was not an empty phrase. "I am deeply convinced that an officer who gave 25-30 years of his life to the army, lost his health in this service, grew old, he has the right, having retired, to live where he wants, and not where he will be abandoned. and forget." As early as 1994, 408 apartments were built in Russia in 13 cities (Saratov, Engels, Voronezh, Rossosh, Belgorod, Krasnodar, Anapa, Gelendzhik, Lipetsk, etc.). And by the end of 1995, it was planned to build and populate another 370 apartments.

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In Tiraspol, two houses were built and six houses were laid (about 500 apartments). Every Friday at 8 o'clock in the morning, a meeting with builders was held near the houses under construction. Construction in Tiraspol was carried out with funds received from the sale of surplus equipment and property of the 14th Army.

Smirnov was a citizen of Russia and constantly "signed" his love for the 14th Army. He constantly repeated: "Leave us the 59th division, and take Lebed with the command of the 14th army to Russia", issued a decree, according to which all housing built and under construction for officers and ensigns of the army was declared service. The local authorities issued service orders to officers for new apartments, and if they were dismissed from the Russian army and did not want to serve in the Transnistrian army, they had to vacate the apartments they occupied.

In 1995, the construction of another 800 apartments was started in Russia, but after the dismissal of A.I. Swan construction was stopped. After the 14th Army came under the control of the Moscow Military District, and V.G. Evnevich, apartments in Gelendzhik, Novorossiysk, Krasnodar, Anapa were redistributed. There was little left for the 14th Army.

In April 1995, Chairman of the Federation Council of the Federal Assembly of Russia V. Shumeiko visited Moldova. During the visit, the issue of the withdrawal of the 14th Army from Transnistria was also discussed. Moreover, V. Shumeiko did not

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found five minutes to meet with the officers of the 14th army or at least send someone. But there was time to visit the Cricova wine cellars. As a result, the following statement was made by the personnel of the 14th Army addressed to the President of the Russian Federation and the Minister of Defense of the Russian Federation:

"From April 3 to April 6, the Chairman of the Federation Council of the Federal Assembly of Russia, V. Shumeiko, visited the Republic of Moldova.

During the visit, he made a number of statements and assessments regarding the 14th Russian Army, which were then widely disseminated by the Russian and other mass media and caused bewilderment among the army personnel, family members of military personnel and the population of Transnistria.

For example, V. Shumeiko said that in the 14th Army, only 85 servicemen were drafted from Russia, the rest - local residents - Moldovan citizens, and therefore, in practice, only equipment, weapons and ammunition.

Such statements from the lips of such a high-ranking politician are unfounded and speak either of his ignorance of the real state of affairs, or of a conscious desire to distort this situation. At the same time, V. Shumeiko apparently does not realize that his statements

aggravate the already difficult social and military-political situation in the whole region, express an openly indifferent attitude

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influence on the fate of thousands of Russian servicemen of the army and members of their families.

We are forced to remind V. Shumeiko that, while naming some figures, he forgets about others, in particular, that in the 14th Russian army more than 10 thousand servicemen and members of their families are Russian citizens, and most of them in the case the withdrawal of the army will have to be deployed and equipped in Russia.

It is appropriate to recall that the leadership of Pridnestrovie has repeatedly stated at various levels that in the event of the withdrawal of the 14th Army, all its property, equipment, weapons, ammunition, movable and immovable property become the property of the people of Pridnestrovie. Appropriate laws of the TMR dated February 15, 1994 and the Decree of the President of the Transnistrian Republic No. 32 dated February 3, 1995 were adopted.

All this is happening against the backdrop of ongoing pro-Romanian and anti-Pridnestrovian protests, unrest and strikes in Chisinau. One does not have to be a great politician to understand that the words and actions of Vladimir Filippovich clearly do not contribute to stability on Moldovan soil, they directly and directly affect the morale and psychological state of the personnel of the 14th Guards. OA.

It is also surprising that, while fulfilling his lofty mission and speaking about the fate of the 14th Army, V. Shumeiko did not condescend to visit this very

army, just as 6 deputies of the State Duma, who were observers at the referendum on the fate of the 14th army, did not consider it necessary for themselves.

In connection with the foregoing, the personnel of the 14th OA of the Russian Federation consider it necessary to state the following:

I. We are outraged by the ill-conceived statements and statements of V. Shumeiko during his official visit to Republic of Moldova 3-5.04.95

2. Officers, ensigns, sergeants, soldiers serving in the 14th Army, and members of their families once again became convinced that, when solving political and military issues, some Russian politicians of the highest level still put non-information at the forefront. - the interests of citizens, the fate of thousands of people, and military property, equipment, weapons, ultimately money and, apparently, their political interests.

3. By continuing to act in the style of V. Shumeiko and some State Duma deputies who were in Pridnestrovie at the referendum, Russian politicians can contribute to the emergence of a new round of tension, an armed conflict on Moldovan soil with a real prospect of its creeping into other European countries.

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sky states".

Soon, the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of Russia, Mr. S.B., visited Moldova on the issue of the withdrawal of the 14th Army. Krylov. He also did not find time to meet with the servicemen, but he concluded that the problem is solved simply: firstly, there are, they say, three more years for housing construction, and secondly, no one will be given to Russian officers prevents me from staying here, taking Moldovan citizenship and remaining to serve in the Moldovan army. AND

in such a simple way to remove the problem of Russian citizens from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Russia.

Every Saturday at A.I. Lebed had a reception day on personal matters. He received everyone: military personnel, members of their families, and the civilian population of the PMR. Moreover, the civilian population hoped more for the help of A.I. Lebed than to help the local authorities.

The popularity of Lebed among the local residents also grew, and the higher this popularity became, the more the local authorities feared him. At first, they began to flirt with him, tried to play on his principles of a "statesman". But since the PMR was an unrecognized republic, no one stood above the local leadership, and therefore they did whatever they wanted in their patrimony. Those ideas and slogans under which they came to power were forgotten, and a process of personal enrichment and complete indifference began in relation to the people who defended this power in 1992. Naturally, A.I. The swan did not accept this. He

began to become objectionable and inconvenient for local authorities.

Lebed's first conflict with the leadership of the Transnistrian Republic arose at the end of 1992. According to A.I. Lebed, its beginning is associated with the detention by the servicemen of the 14th Army at the request of the prosecutor of the PMR of "battalion commander Nikolai Kostenko", accused of many grave crimes, but associated with the top leadership of the republic. When Kostenko was detained in July 1992, the battalion of the Transnistrian Guard was disarmed by paratroopers. Kostenko himself was detained much later and, under circumstances not yet clarified, was killed. The murder was attributed to servicemen of the 14th Army. Lebed with such a formulation of the question was not agree.

Another reason for the conflict was the disagreement of the leadership of the PMR with the participation of the military personnel of the 14th army in the protection of public order and the fight against crime in the region. The relationship between the lawlessness that was going on in the city and the way the leaders of the republic behaved in a complex criminal situation was already very clearly visible. In chaos it is always easier to do dark deeds.

The third reason for the conflict, perhaps the most important, was the reluctance of the PMR leadership to sign acts of acceptance of weapons from the 14th Army, which they seized before the start of the Bendery massacre and which they did not return after the deployment of units of the 14th Army during active military operations.

BUD

In December 1992, reports appeared in the press about a confidential agreement between A.I. Lebed and I.N. Smirnov on the transfer of part of the weapons and military equipment of the 14th Army to Pridnestrovie. September 27, 1992 A.I. Lebed denied these reports. In a speech on local television, he called them "nonsense and fabrications."

According to him, by this time he was in "extremely confrontational relations" with Smirnov, although he admitted "that Smirnov did write pitiful notes to him, where he asked him to transfer 139 tanks, 650 trucks, 124 mortars." Lebed answered Smirnov: "I have only 121 tanks. Am I supposed to give up all the tanks and have to stay 18 more? I quickly explained to him that it was mine. Mine is mine, yours is ours" ("NSN", May 18, 1996).

The popularity of the Swan grew. By his nature, temperament and actions, he was a sovereign. He really was not indifferent to the fate of 25 million compatriots who suddenly found themselves abroad. He was offended for them, and he spoke openly that the leaders of such a great power as Russia were flirting with the West, while destroying Russia, thinking only about their momentary political ambitions. Not everyone who was then in power liked this. Intrigues began, behind-the-scenes games to discredit the army commander.

In the army, the rating is A.I. Lebed was many times higher than that of the Minister of Defense. Commander 14th became

disliked by Grachev. In 1993, in his book A Spectacle Called Putsch, Lebed described with military straightforwardness how P.S. Grachev in August 1993 rushed back and forth for two days, trying to guess which side would win. This is never forgiven to anyone.

Since A.I. Lebed got into the political ratings, since he began to be called a possible candidate for the presidency of Russia, he crossed the path of the Yeltsin "family". Here the interests of the Minister of Defense and the interests of those for whom Lebed became an undesirable and dangerous rival coincided.

In 1993, the first attempt was made to remove A.I. Lebed from the political scene. Under a plausible pretext, he was offered the position of Deputy Commander-in-Chief of the Ground Forces for combat training. The proposal itself was made, as it were, in passing, suddenly A.I. Lebed on this offer.

In addition to Moscow, A.I. Lebed appeared "well-wishers" in Transnistria. In the fall of 1992, Lebed accused Minister of State Security V.Yu. Shevtsov and the prosecutor of the PMR B.A. Luchik in corruption and abuse of office. Lebed said that the Transnistrian authorities were illegally transferring foreign currency to Austrian banks. Later, the presence of foreign currency accounts of the PMR in these countries was confirmed by the chairman of the Pridnestrovian Republican Bank V.A. Zagryadsky.

In February 1993, a group of former people's deputies of the USSR visited Pridnestrovie. During this train

ki V.I. Alksnis told the Post Factum agency that "rumors of corruption in Transnistria are greatly exaggerated." He also stated that the charges against A.I. Lebed to the leadership of the PMR, the allegations of corruption are not confirmed, although, in his opinion, "there is no smoke without fire." Local authorities accused Lebed of interfering in the internal affairs of Transnistria.

At the end of June 1993, a group of people's deputies of Russia prepared a letter addressed to the President of Russia Boris Yeltsin and Chairman of the Supreme Council of the Russian Federation R.I. Khasbulatov. In it, the deputies proposed "to instruct the Ministry of Defense, the Prosecutor's Office of the Russian Federation, with the participation of deputies of the RF Armed Forces, to conduct an investigation into the illegal activities of the commander of the 14th Army, Lieutenant General A.I. Lebed and the commandant of Tiraspol M.M. Bergman".

But it didn't. Women of Transnistria, headed by S.G. Miguley, arrived in Moscow and staged a picket in front of the building of the Russian Ministry of Defense. For a month they demanded to leave A.I. Lebed as commander of the 14th Army. Yes, and A.I. Lebed did not agree to leave the post of commander, he could not leave the people who believed him. According to various rumors, for the period from 1992 to 1995, Lebed was offered eight positions, ranging from the commander of the Airborne Forces to the Western Group of Troops.

In October 1993, during the confrontation between B.N. Yeltsin and the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation,

A.I. Lebed received calls from two presidents, the current B.N. Yeltsin and A.V. Rutskoi, with a proposal to participate in those events. Representative B.N. Yeltsin offered A.I. Lebed to address the people and the Armed Forces of Russia in support of Boris Nikolaevich.

I happened to be present at the conversation on the telephone of A.I. Lebed with representative A.V. Rutskoi, who suggested A.I. Lebed to arrive in Moscow with the 14th Army in a day and take the chair of the Minister of Defense of Russia.

After the end of the conversation, we discussed the proposals with him for a long time and with irony. Even if we hypothetically assume that Ukraine would suddenly let troops pass through its territory, that all equipment (tanks, armored personnel carriers, self-propelled guns, etc.) would start up and leave the parks, then it turned out that 1,500 kilometers to Moscow, this entire armada would pass at least in 5-6 days, because mixed convoys can travel no more than 350 kilometers per day. This is not even mathematics, but simple arithmetic, and any commander of a motorized rifle company knows it.

Representative A.V. Rutskey A.I. Swan sent approximately where Makar did not drive calves. Representative B.N. Yeltsin replied that he was only the commander of the army and that it was not within the competence of the commander of the united army to address the people.

ignorance.

At the same time, the Transnistrian authorities sent a group of armed servicemen from the Dniester special police battalion to Moscow to help the besieged White House. However, after B.N. Yeltsin shot down the Supreme Council with the help of tanks (this action was led by the future commander of the OGRF, General V.G. Evnevich, commander of the Taman motorized rifle division), the Transnistrian authorities refused the people they sent to Moscow.

Minister of State Security V.Yu. Shevtsov and Chairman of the Supreme Council of the PMR G.S. Passion fruit at the session stubbornly tried to prove that no one had sent anyone anywhere.

Lebed, based on film and photo documents, proved the opposite. A video recording of the events that took place in Moscow near the White House and the Ostankino television tower was presented. Officers of the "Dniester" battalion with weapons in their hands were clearly visible on the film.

To investigate the events, IMR President I.N. Smirnov appointed a commission chaired by M.F. Kirichenko, who, in the course of her work, "revealed" that the shown officers went on vacation from September 25 to October 10, 1993. Moreover, they all left together for Moscow or its environs. This is Major V.V. Golubev (Obninsk, Kaluga region), senior lieutenants S.V. Leshchenko (Moscow), A.A. Nikitenko (Kolomna), V.S. Dobrozhan (Yaroslavl), A.A. Bub

UD

nov (Moscow), junior lieutenant Tuzu (Ivanovo), foreman R.A. Ellis (Moscow). Naturally, the commission did not find any crime, and the whole story went into oblivion. There were simply no culprits. After some time, M.F. Kirichenko died under mysterious circumstances.

After the publication of the facts of the participation of employees of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the PMR in the Moscow events of 1993, A.I. The swan becomes not only inconvenient for local authorities, but their sworn enemy.

Requests are sent to Moscow to various authorities to remove A.I. Swan from Transnistria. A pilgrimage to the 14th army of various commissions begins in order to find dirt on its commander. The counterintelligence of the 14th Army and the special services of the PMR arrange a series of provocations against A.I. swan. But all attempts to discredit the commander did not bring success.

On June 25, 1994, on this occasion, a meeting was held at the headquarters of the 14th Army with the director of the FSB of Russia, Lieutenant General S.V. Stepashin and the head of the Ministry of National Security of Moldova, Brigadier General Vasily Kalmoy with Alexander Lebed. Shortly after this two-hour meeting, Colonel Nikolai Zlygostev, head of the special department of the army, was transferred to Russia for further service.

In July, a second attempt is made to remove A.I. Lebed from the 14th Army, and liquidate the army itself. July 19

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1994 A.I. Lebed was sent on vacation, and on August 3, Deputy Commander-in-Chief of the Ground Forces, Colonel-General E.A. Vorobyov with the directive of the General Staff of July 22. "The administration of the 14th Army must be disbanded by September 1st. By August 10, submit lists of officers wishing to retire or transfer to Russia. The authority to command the group is assigned to the commander of the 59th motorized rifle divisions."

A.I. Lebed interrupted his vacation, returned to Tiraspol and officially announced that he had taken up the duties of the army commander, and told reporters: "I consider the disbandment of the army command a crime. I foresee the whole mess that will begin here.

I accepted the army collapsed. I have been building it brick by brick for three years. Now I am invited to take a hammer and smash everything into shards with a flourish. I will not destroy what I created. Nothing has been decided here, not a single echelon has left, nothing has been reduced, people have remained, equipment has remained, ammunition has remained, and those who can, must and must do this are being dispersed. This is absolutely unprecedented. The Western Group of Forces was withdrawn. Who was the last to leave? Burlakov. This is logical. They handed everything over, sold it, signed the act, handed over the documents to the archive, then they leave. Here, the logic is aimed at dispersal, at creating chaos - and at nothing else" (Minkin A.V.. In anticipation of war. "Moscow Komsomol

Lec").

A.I. Lebed is again offered a position with a promotion as commander of the peacekeeping forces in Tajikistan. And again he refused.

In August 1994, President of Russia B.N. Yeltsin, answering journalists' questions, said: "I remember well and will not forget the role of the 14th Army and the role of its commander in preventing a big bloodshed in the Moldovan region in 1992. This is one of the few hot spots of the former USSR that we managed to cool down, stop the violence. And largely thanks to General Lebed. Its role is also great in the fact that now the situation there is under control ... It is unacceptable to artificially aggravate it by any actions." This served as a kind of signal to the Minister of Defense, and Lebed was left alone for a while.

In December 1994 - January 1995 A.I. Lebed gives a very sharp assessment of the actions of the federal center in Chechnya. "The Chechen conflict can only be resolved through diplomatic negotiations," he said in a telephone interview. — In Chechnya, the Afghan variant is repeated one to one. We risk unleashing a war with the entire Islamic world. Single fighters can endlessly burn our armored vehicles, destroy soldiers with single shots. In Chechnya, we stepped on the same rake as in Afghanistan, and this is very sad. A well-fortified Grozny with a large amount of supplies is capable of providing long-term and serious resistance. Lebed recalled that General Dudayev commanded a division in the Soviet Army

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strategic bombers, capable of waging war on a continental scale, and "fools were not appointed" to such posts.

He popularly explained what such unprofessional actions on the part of the federal center could lead to. "It is difficult for me to understand how and what the Minister of Defense wanted to win. But we lost a lot. The whole world has become aware of the main Russian military secret: the reform of our armed forces under the leadership of "the best minister of defense of all times and peoples" ended in their complete failure. It is strange and bitter to realize that Russia no longer has an army, but only amusing military formations that are capable of little.

It is amazing, but true, in Chechnya all the mistakes made by the Soviet troops in Afghanistan were repeated. Complete disregard for local specifics and local conditions, national,

religious and other features. One gets the impression that absolutely no one in the Russian General Staff was engaged in planning this military operation, everyone started in Russian at random. And no wonder: in recent years, the Ministry of Defense has mainly withdrawn its troops on Mercedes and completely forgot how to bring them in on standard vehicles."

He did not agree with what and how the Ministry of Defense was doing in Chechnya. A.I. Lebed allowed himself to criticize the Ministry of Defense for the collapse of the army, for sending untrained soldiers to Chechnya. On

he was immediately ganged up by "hawks" from the Ministry of Defense, the government and the State Duma of the Russian Federation.

In January 1995 A.I. Lebed offered to personally lead a regiment of children of members of the government, deputies of the State Duma and restore order in Grozny. Popularity, and with it the rating of A.I. The swan began to grow. All this could not continue indefinitely.

Minister of Defense P.S. Grachev again made an attempt to remove A.I. Swan from the political scene. In April 1995, the General Staff issues a new directive (Directive of the Ministry of Defense of the Russian Federation of April 18, 1995 No. 314/2/0296), in which the 14th Army is renamed the Operational Group of Russian Forces in the Transnistrian region of the Republic of Moldova, the administration of the 14th army is disbanded, and the post of army commander is liquidated.

As of July 1, 1995, the group included 52 formations, military units and institutions, including:

- divisions - 1 (59 guards. MRD);
- brigades - 1 (control frame 93 brmo);
- separate regiments - 1 (15th Guards Ops);
- separate battalions - 9 (58 air defense ortb, 2 orrk, 976 obreb, 130 obrkhba, 36 ove, 225 orvb (VT), 97 opomb, 425 oisb);
- individual companies - 6 (395 OROiO, 143 ORATO, 1464 ORS and RTO, 1398 KRC, 818 ORP OPN);
- the rest - 54.

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The staff number was - 6489 people, including officers - 1362, warrant officers - 854, sergeants, soldiers - 4272.

In accordance with this directive, the management of the army was halved, all positions in the new state were reduced by three or four ranks, and, accordingly, official salaries were reduced. A directive from the Department of Defense encouraged people to quit. The logic is this: if you stay in the army, then in the future, in 3-4 years, you will be fired from a lower position and, accordingly, with a lower pension.

Lebed again criticized the Ministry of Defense and said that he would not serve in the army, which is commanded by the Minister of Defense, whom you despise, and the Supreme Commander, whom you do not trust.

He writes a report addressed to the President of Russia B.N. Yeltsin (as Supreme Commander-in-Chief) that this directive was written without a deep analysis and without taking into account the consequences that may occur as a result of a reduction in army command and control. But the report did not reach Yeltsin.

The motivation is as follows: after the armed confrontation was stopped in July 1992, on July 21 the Presidents of the Russian Federation and the Republic of Moldova signed the Agreement "On the Principles of the Peaceful Settlement of the Armed Conflict in the Transnistrian Region of the Republic of Moldova". According to this document, a

Joint Control Commission consisting of representatives of Russia, Moldova and Transnistria. Joint peacekeeping forces of the conflicting parties and Russia appeared in the war zone.

Also in this document it was noted that the issue of the withdrawal of the 14th army would be decided simultaneously with the decision of the issue of the political status of Transnistria.

But everything happened exactly the opposite. The political settlement of the status of the TMR came to a standstill, and the 14th Army was thoughtlessly reduced and withdrawn to the territory of Russia.

Lebed categorically disagreed with this. He sharply criticized the actions of the Ministry of Defense and again wrote a report addressed to B.N. Yeltsin. The report does not reach Yeltsin.

Grachev tried to send the former Commander-in-Chief of the Western Group of Forces M.P. Burlakova. But A.I. Lebed appeared in the press and called Burlakov a thief, while declaring that he would not let him into the army: "Let's say there is such a thief Burlakov. The fact that he is a thief was indirectly, but confirmed by the President, first removing him from his post, then dismissing him in general to the reserve. Despite all his amazing merits, however, I don't know to whom, although I can guess. But he is not the last thief and dunce in our glorious Russian army" (Minkin A.V. In anticipation of the war. "Moskovsky Komsomolets").

At the end of May, a commission arrived in Tiraspol under the leadership of the chief military inspector, General

Colonel K.I. Kobets in order to check the level of combat training and field training of personnel. According to the results of the audit, the commission was forced to state a very high level of combat training of units and subunits of the 14th Army.

Lebed once again criticized the decision of the Minister of Defense to abolish the army administration and stated that with his own hands he would not destroy what he himself had created.

June 1 Lebed again writes a report addressed to the President of Russia B.N. Yeltsin. He was personally taken to Moscow by the head of the 6th department of the army, Colonel S.I. Serebryakov and with the assistance of the former intelligence chief of the 14th Army, Colonel S.F. Kharlamov handed over to B.N. Yeltsin.

Here is its content:

"In the summer of 1992, on the eve of my departure to a new duty station, I, on your behalf, President of the Russian Federation, Supreme Commander-in-Chief, Secretary of the Security Council Yu.V. Skokov set specific tasks, the solution of which was to guarantee the stability of the situation in Transnistria:

- by all available means to stop the bloodshed;

- ensure, if necessary, the evacuation of family members of servicemen;

- to take under strict control the warehouses of weapons, ammunition, parks with military equipment;

- ensure unhindered, and if possible on preferential terms, passage of military trains through the territory of Ukraine;

- to ensure the agreement of the Moldovan side on the dispatch of these echelons.

In addition, on the basis of the relevant decision of the Security Council and on your behalf, I was focused on solving such a strategic problem as a phased, carefully adjusted withdrawal of the 14th Army from Moldova. It was about three interrelated tasks:

- removal from the territory of Pridnestrovie of the huge Russian military-technical arsenal accumulated over decades;
- provision of housing, the necessary socio-economic conditions for the personnel and their families brought to the territory of Russia;
- ensuring, when an appropriate political decision is made, guarantees of fundamental human rights for the Russian-speaking population remaining in Transnistria.

The effective solution of all these tasks, in accordance with your instructions, should have been based primarily on reaching a political agreement with Ukraine (through the relevant Russian departments and organizations) on the conditions for the export of military equipment and the withdrawal of personnel through Ukrainian territory.

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The implementation of the tasks you set already at the first stage made it possible to sign the necessary peace agreement and stop the bloodshed. Until the summer of 1993, three military units were withdrawn to the territory of the Russian Federation and twenty-six were disbanded on the spot. Thanks to the measures taken, the international prestige of Russia and its President has grown significantly.

At the same time, today the political and military situation in the region of Transnistria, due to circumstances beyond the control of the command of the 14th Army, has seriously changed. The Moldovan-Transnistrian negotiations have finally reached a dead end, as the parties systematically and purposefully put forward mutually unacceptable conditions. Russian-Moldovan negotiations stall. The Ukrainian leadership (Kravchuk, and then Kuchma), on the basis of their intelligence assessments of the Russian military-technical potential in Transnistria, took an extremely tough position regarding the export of the corresponding military property to Russia. Negotiations between representatives of the Foreign Ministry, the Ministry of Defense of Russia and Ukraine on the issue of transit through Ukrainian territory of Russian military equipment and ammunition have not even actually been started.

I report that today the warehouses and parks of the 14th Army contain 49,476 units of small arms, 805 artillery systems, 655 units of armored vehicles, 3,535 vehicles, 43,258 tons of ammunition, as well as

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a large amount of other military equipment with a total weight of 58,267 tons. According to military experts, the total cost of this military property is 3.5-4 billion US dollars.

In this situation, which is fraught with unpredictable consequences for Russia's strategic interests in the region, the Ministry of Defense of the Russian Federation in April of this year issued a directive to disband the administration of the 14th Army, that is, to liquidate virtually the only body capable, after the adoption of the corresponding political decision to professionally ensure the export to the territory of Russia of accumulated stocks of weapons and ammunition, to prevent the emergence of a “second Chechnya”.

The directive of the Ministry of Defense sharply heated up the situation around Pridnestrovie. The incoming intelligence confirms that all parties in the region are actively preparing for action to take over the Russian arsenal in the region.

All my attempts to draw the attention of the leadership of the Ministry of Defense of the Russian Federation to the possible negative long-term consequences of the implementation of this directive were unsuccessful.

In May this year, the increasingly threatening situation for Russia was discussed at parliamentary hearings. On May 23, the State Duma adopted in the first reading the Federal Law "On Ensuring the Preservation of Military Arsenal in the Location Zone of the 14th Guards Combined Arms Army of the RF Armed Forces". May 25 me in the name of mi-

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nistra defense, a report was filed, where I motivated my actions by a sharp deterioration in the situation around Transnistria. On May 30, I received an answer from the Chief of the General Staff: a tough proposal to retire or to carry out the April directive of the MO. Since the implementation of this directive would cause irreparable damage to the vital interests of my country, I preferred to write a letter of resignation.

The implementation of the instructions you gave in 1992 made it possible, to a certain extent, to stabilize the situation in the region, localize the military conflict, and save the lives of thousands of people. The implementation of the April directive of the Defense Ministry will inevitably lead to grave consequences for Russia, including the possibility of the emergence of a "second Chechnya", a sharp aggravation of relations with Ukraine, and severe political isolation of Russia. I believe that in this case, all responsibility will fall on those who initiated and are striving to implement this dangerous directive as soon as possible, without any analytical studies."

In early June, A.I. Lebed was summoned to Moscow to the Ministry of Defense. First, he was received by the Commander-in-Chief of the Ground Forces, Colonel-General V.M. Semyonov. After a long conversation between Lebed and Semyonov, the latter refused to sign the report of the commander of the 14th Army on his dismissal. After that, Lebed went to the Chief of the General Staff M.P. Kolesnikov, where he was asked either to write a letter of resignation, or to execute a director

tivu of the General Staff to liquidate the command of the army. The swan chose the first.

P.S. Grachev immediately signed the report, and on June 14, 1995 B.N. Yeltsin signed a decree on the dismissal of A.I. Swan from the armed forces. So the last point was put in the Pridnestrovian chronicles of A.I. swan.

The army without a commander was in a fever of reductions. As a result of the organizational measures taken in 1995, the staffing of the Operational Group was reduced by 1044 positions of military personnel, including: officers - by 163, ensigns - by 187, sergeants, soldiers - by 694, and amounted to 5445 positions of military personnel, including officers - 1200, ensigns - 667, sergeants, soldiers - 3578. Moreover, the organizational measures carried out in 1995 were aimed at the quantitative reduction of military units and institutions, the reduction of government bodies without taking into account the tasks to be solved.

But that was not all. As a result of the organizational measures taken in 1996, the staffing level was reduced by another 353 military positions, including: officers - by 89, ensigns - by 58, sergeants, soldiers - by 206, and amounted to 5092 positions of military personnel, including officers - 1111, ensigns - 609, sergeants, soldiers - 3372.

In 1997, the staffing level was reduced by 2082 positions of military personnel, including: officers - by 470, ensigns - by 216, sergeants, soldiers - by 1396,

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and amounted to 3010 positions, including: officers - 641, ensigns - 393, sergeants, soldiers - 1976.

In 1998, organizational measures were taken to further "optimize" organizational and staff structures, relocate military units and institutions to large military camps of the Tiraspol garrison in order to save money on utility bills.

However, this is a completely different story.

CONCLUSION

The author of the diary you read is Colonel V.N. Chernobriv - for participation in the events of 1992, he was awarded the Russian Order "For Personal Courage", the Cross of the Black Sea Cossack Army "For the Defense of Transnistria" and the PMR medal "Defender of Transnistria".

Let us especially note the wording of the Decree of the President of the Russian Federation on awarding the Order "For Personal Courage": "For the skillful leadership of subordinates and the achievement of high performance in combat training." Apparently, this is a synonym for the term - "armed neutrality."

In total, more than 100 servicemen of the 14th Army were awarded Russian orders and medals for success in "combat training". During the preparation of this publication, I had the opportunity to communicate with many of them. But the majority still do not want to advertise their participation in the events in Transnistria. As an argument, one of the interlocutors reminded me of the fate of a Russian citizen, a retired tanker Yuri Mel, arrested in March 2014 by the Lithuanian special services, who participated on January 13, 1991 in the storming of the TV tower in Vilnius. Nobody wants to repeat his fate

even

From publications in the media, we know only five Russian servicemen - participants in the hostilities in Transnistria. By the Decree of the President of the Russian Federation of August 18, 1993, Senior Lieutenant A.N. Zimanov, Lieutenant F.F. Chernavsky, senior warrant officer N.N. Norin, privates D.S. Paireli and S.A. Digoran. The decree was published in Krasnaya Zvezda.

Pridnestrovian awards were awarded to 9 officers of the 14th Army. In addition to A.I. Lebed, who wore the Pridnestrovian insignia on the block immediately after the Order of the Red Banner, the medal of the PMR "Defender of Pridnestrovie" was awarded to 7 artillerymen and the deputy chief of staff of the army, Colonel K. The solemn ceremony took place in 1995 in the Ministry of Defense of the Pridnestrovian Moldavian Republic. The awards were presented by the head of the military department, Lieutenant General S.G. Khazheev. Also, the medal "Defender of Transnistria" was posthumously awarded to 27 servicemen of the 14th Army.

Lieutenant General A.I. Swan.

This rare and highly valued combat award was given to "all Cossacks, members of the Union of Cossacks, who took part in military operations against national extremist aggressors in the struggle for the independence and freedom of the people of Transnistria." They were also awarded to "compatriots, non-members

Union of Cossacks, but having high military merits and made a significant contribution to the defense of Pridnestrovie", "as well as other citizens and stateless persons for personal courage and bravery shown in the battles for the independence and freedom of Pridnestrovie" (ÿÿÿ: // ÿattieg.gilpaeh .rÿÿr? ÿÿouÿorÿs=4583).

The exact number of soldiers of the 14th Army who died during the short-lived conflict is unknown. The figures are different: from 22 (website An o waggi) to 76 people (Krapiva I.I. The war in Bendery through the eyes of an eyewitness).

In the “Pridnestrovian martyrology”, posted on the website of the PMR news agency “Olvia-press”, 27 soldiers, sergeants, ensigns and officers of the Russian army were named among the 457 dead defenders of the PMR (Tue):

1. Andrey Vladislavovich Abramov — serviceman of the Russian army.

15. Babenko Oleg Viktorovich - serviceman of the Russian army.

17. Babkin Yury Ivanovich — serviceman of the Russian army.

76. Vasiliev Vyacheslav Sergeevich - serviceman of the army of the Russian Federation.

81. Artur Kharitonovich Verkhovetsky — serviceman of the Russian army.

119. Digoran Sergey Alexandrovich - soldier

reaping the army of the Russian Federation.

144. Zhigadlo Vladimir Rudolfovich — serviceman of the Russian army.

147. Zamsha Vitaliy Nikolaevich — serviceman of the Russian army.

150. Zgerya Yury Pavlovich — serviceman of the Russian army.

154. Zimanov Anatoliy Nikolaevich — serviceman of the Russian army.

166. Kazanyuk Yuri Ivanovich - serviceman of the Russian army.

170. Andrey Mikhailovich Kambur — serviceman of the Russian army.

172. Captain Viktor Yuryevich - a serviceman of the Russian army.

178. Roman Vladimirovich Karamyshev — serviceman of the Russian army.

193. Kozhukhar Vitaliy Viktorovich — serviceman of the army of the Russian Federation.

203. Kolisnichenko Vyacheslav Sergeevich — serviceman of the Russian army.

215. Korotush Igor Vladimirovich — serviceman of the army of the Russian Federation.

217. Sergey Aleksandrovich Kravchenko — serviceman of the Russian army.

241. Alexander Petrovich Lazarev — serviceman of the Russian army.

260. Marchenko Alexander Pavlovich - soldier

reaping the army of the Russian Federation.

283. Nekryach Valery Zhanovich - serviceman of the Russian army.

291. Norin Nikolai Pavlovich - serviceman of the Russian army.

293. Olnev Aleksandr Aleksandrovich — serviceman of the Russian army.

301. Paireli Dorel Semyonovich - serviceman of the Russian army.

368. Alexander Makarovich Smirnov — serviceman of the Russian army.

419. Khmel Alexander Vladimirovich - serviceman of the 14th OVRA (as indicated on the website).

438. Shalabodov Sergey Vladimirovich — conscript serviceman of the Russian army.

Twenty-seven tragic fates. A series of personal dramas. The list is certainly not exhaustive. At a minimum, it can be supplemented with the name of a graduate of the Leningrad Suvorov Military School, Lieutenant Fedor Fedorovich Chernavsky. The officer is listed among the five servicemen of the 14th Army posthumously awarded by Decree of the President of the Russian Federation of August 18, 1993.

The figure - 76 people, cited in a number of articles, most likely includes either 27 fallen Russian peacekeepers (note that the data given in Krasnaya Zvezda is dated 1999), or 26 servicemen 115- of the Order of Bogdan Khmelnytsky of the engineer sapper battalion (Parkany village), who died on June 22, 1992 in the explosion of a mine layer on the territory of the park zone.

The first relations have nothing to do with the 14th Army, since the Russian contingent from the Joint Peacekeeping Forces until 1996 was formed by servicemen of the 27th motorized rifle division of the Volga Military District (PriVO), the 45th motorized rifle division of the Leningrad military district (LenVO) and the 106th Airborne Division. The second, at the time of the tragedy, had already gone over to the side of the TMR (see: Decree of the President of the TMR No. 127 of May 18, 1992 on the transition under the jurisdiction of the TMR military unit 48414).

12 people were injured: Major V.A. Kozlov (garrison KECH); lieutenant colonel S.P. Vorona, senior warrant officer N.V. Goltsev, Private K.V. Korkin (all 173 rbr); privates S.A. Kandaurov, L.V. Kuznetsov, A.A. Pascari (all 183 SMEs); A.A. Krivoruchko (130 obhz); A.V. Zakharov (237 isbr); IN AND. Vagu (903 Abrmo); A.V. Kholodyuk (59th brigade); E.V. Nepomniachtchi (785 review).

And this list is far from complete. But we note that it is based on the materials of the Central Archive of the Ministry of Defense of the Russian Federation.

Correspondent of the newspaper "Red Star" Colonel V.M. Zhitarenko in the material "Besieged garrisons" in 1992 wrote: "Perhaps it was not the Moldovan side that sent saboteurs to the area of the Tiraspol airfield - ensign Yu. Babkin died in the battle, guarding the aircraft parking. Maybe the wrong side fired on the car and wounded Major V. Kozlov, who tried to escape from the unit? Maybe it was not in the besieged Bendery fortress that Senior Ensign N. Gaitsev was wounded? On

walking in those days after June 19 in the units and subdivisions of the army, the author of these lines almost every hour witnessed more and more such reports: private Krivoruchko was wounded by fragments of a mine in the barracks of the chemical protection battalion; In the Tiraspol garrison, Private Kuznetsov of the pontoon-bridge regiment was wounded; in Bendery, Ensign Prikhodchenko and Private Korostylev were taken hostage... This list can be doubled, tripled."

To some extent, the situation is explained by the following lines from the publication of V.M. Zhitarenko: "The former chief medical officer of the hospital, lieutenant colonel of the medical service V. Pomerantsevsky, who did not leave his post after the order to dismiss him, tiredly explained to me the statistics of those who came for treatment after the battles: yes, only eight from the units of the army, and another thirty guardsmen, twenty-four Cossacks, twenty-seven militias. Another stream of the wounded went through the city hospital, and the officer did not dare to say that there were no wounded servicemen in that stream: who divides the victims into "us" and "them" in a war?"

From 1992 to 1999, 46 people from the Russian contingent of the Joint Peacekeeping Forces were injured.

A number of Russian servicemen were captured by the security forces of Moldova. The most famous prisoner is the former commander of the 14th Army, Lieutenant General G.I. Yakovlev, who on March 16, 1992 on the territory

Ukraine was abducted by the Moldovan special services. On March 19, 1992, Moldova recognized this fact. On March 20, 1992, the general was released.

A mass hostage-taking of servicemen and members of their families took place on March 2, 1992. About 200 officers of the Moldovan police (OPON) in civilian clothes crossed the reservoir of the Dubossary hydroelectric power station on the ice and captured a civil defense regiment in the village of Cocieri. Weapons and military equipment were stolen, military personnel and members of their families were taken hostage. They were liberated by Pridnestrovian militias and Cossacks. During the evacuation of servicemen and members of their families, the buses with the hostages were fired upon by Oponovites and volunteers. Three women and one child were injured...

None of the Russian servicemen has been recognized as a participant in hostilities. The federal law "On Veterans" does not apply to them. According to the appendix to this document, which contains a list of states, cities, territories and periods of hostilities involving citizens of the Russian Federation, Russian military personnel did not fight in Pridnestrovie?!

Apparently, in the opinion of the officials, the Russians were taken prisoner, were wounded or died in the course of "combat and political training."

True, in 1997, the poet Andrei Voznesensky noticed in a painfully sad anthem for participants in armed conflicts of the 90s. XX century:

Who needs you, man, who needs you? You hit the cerebellum with your palm. Was overloaded.

Someone needs your fist, who needs you?

However, soldiers and officers, who are not spoiled by the attention of the state, benefits and honors, are reassured by the fact that they are winners! After all, the Transnistrian conflict is the last victory of the Soviet Armed Forces and the first battle won by the young Russian army. She paid a heavy price. But the test of the 14th Guards Combined Arms Army passed with honor, showing everyone that Russian soldiers and officers are still invincible, like their great-grandfathers, Suvorov's miracle heroes.

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APPS

Appendix 1 Information on the personnel, weapons and equipment of the Republic of Moldova, participating in the armed conflict in 1992

Rybnitsa Dubossary Bender Kitskany

BIN OKO

E et

— Ea 3200 — 2300 — 2300 — 1300 — 13000 — about 3800 2500 2800 1500 15000 BB

MPB - 500 people; detachment of the RP - 140-150, adn / batr - 170-180/60; ptadn/ptbatr—200/60—70, 6-n OPON—300—350, T6—200—250, min. batr—60—70. Out of 7 adn - "Hyacinth" - 2. Out of 16 battleships "Hurricane" - 3; BM-21-2; 261-1; D-30 -2; D-1-2;

wine about

Head of Intelligence of the 14th Army Colonel S. Kharlamov.

Annex 2 Table of targets of the 328th self-propelled artillery regiment, which were fired on in the summer of 1992

No. by Character | Attracted Expense Target Number | Note

Jl

| A40 | zb | by | No. | gBandsry _

rf | m | ba | 4 | sovarnitsa 2] June

[1 | Az | measures | by | 18[| the village of Varnitsa _

2 | No. | bench press | 1 battery | 16| the village of Varnitsa

3 | AY | zb | Ibatary | 11| village Varnisha_

4 | MB | measures | battery | 6| soloVarnitsa _ 6 | m | min. bar | by | 5 | ami | 7 | m5 | Mar | by | 16| soloVarnischa |

22nd of June

| No. | infantry | share | 2| sslVarnitsa! ryu | NP | ne | 8 | thicker - oz | ^5 | zb | 1 battery | 6| slobuvorovo

4 | Am | br | by | 2 | soloGis — G 5 [| M5 | mb | Tya | 7| sslVarnitsa!

1 | m5 | mb | 1st | 36_ Koshnitsa village | [2 | ohm | syb | Pia | | Pogreby village | July 2 | | mm | min. batr | battery | 67| sloKochners | | | m | a | 32| seoDorotsos!

| pm [| znos | Yubtrya | 36

July 3 | 5 | lcd | Zan | 244 [Hook-Thing Lee. | t| fat | daan | 159 |Herbovsikyles 4 | 30 | liquid | battery | 68 | s.Gorlekany | 5 | m | mb | measures | 36 | sorry | 6 | 33| znos | 10battery | 44| With. Gorlskans |

2 TT Abut, buff 1 | battery | 28_| SEO Rumor

Chief of Staff of the 328 SAP p/p M.

“2

Appendix 3 Table of artillery targets of the 183rd motorized rifle regiment, which were fired on in the summer of 1992

No. by Target number | The nature of the purpose Attracted Expenditure Note on the order of measures and the character of the means of ammunition ri:

June 20

21st of June

OE r e a r e n a r e e

22nd of June

| m | np | barÿ83ma] 30| .Suvorovskaya | e Ge G | Gev

June 23

You are ere en

G 2 | 300 | column | sconce | No. [Krnulyany village!

27th of June

1 [9 | fuel warehouse | br me | 30| sslVarnitsa

June 28

re oh ha her

adn 183 mi | 34 | village of Kitsany |

No. by Target number | The nature of the target Attracted Consumption Notes in order rc rakter means of ammunition

about | m | np | m | 36[] ssyusuvorovy | ryu | Mon (adn183mep | 24 | soloKishany!

30 June

[1 | ^ | [] battery BM-21 | adn 183msp | 38[] sloKishany! [2[] 0 | np | minbatr183 | And [] the village of Kishany!

3 July

a BB I'm about Gene

+ | 102 [propaganda | aln183mep | 6 | soloKishany | [2 | 103[] campaign | adn Zma | 6[] sloKishany [3 | 402
[machine | adn 183msp | 6[] seo Kopanka |

Chief of Staff of the RVIA of the 59th Motor Rifle Division, Colonel N.

Appendix 4

EXTRACT FROM THE ACT ON WITHDRAWAL OF WEAPONS, EQUIPMENT AND AMMUNITION FROM PARTS OF THE 14TH ARMY

"I approve" "Agreed" COMMANDING PRESIDENT OF THE PMR 14 GV. OA Major General I. SMIRNOV

A. SWAN

September 10, 1992 September 16, 1992

ACT on the seizure of weapons, equipment and ammunition from units of the 14th Guards. OA

In the period from November 1991 to August 1992, in units subordinate to the 14th Guards. OA, weapons, equipment and ammunition were seized by the paramilitary formations of the PMR.

The command of the 14th Army took the necessary measures to return the seized equipment, weapons and ammunition, however, due to the current military and political situation in the region, it was not possible to return the weapons, equipment and ammunition belonging to the army.

In view of the foregoing, the commission consists of:

- Chairman - Deputy Army Commander for armaments Colonel A.S. DYMAR;

"25

— members of the commission: Lieutenant Colonel ZHELTOUKHOV S.A., Chief of the RAV Service of the Army, Major E.S. SEDOV, Acting Chief of the Army Armored Service, Lieutenant Colonel V.V. N.I., head of the chemical service of the army, colonel ROGOVSKY S.A., acting head of communications of the army, lieutenant colonel Yekhlakov S.V., head of the fuel and lubricants service of the army, lieutenant colonel SHLYKOV N.N., considers it necessary to deregister 14 of the Army and register weapons, equipment and ammunition with the Republican Defense Department of the PMR, in accordance with the annexes to this act:

Appendix 2. "Ammunition List" No. 2 on 3 sheets.

Appendix 3. "Statement of armored vehicles" No. 3 on 1 sheet.

Appendix 4. "Statement of automotive equipment" No. 4 on 1 sheet.

Appendix 5. "Statement of engineering equipment" No. 5 on 1 sheet.

Appendix 6. "Statement of communication technology" No. 6 on] sheet.

Appendix 7

No. 7 on 1 sheet.

Appendix 8. "List of fuel service equipment" No. 8 on 1 sheet.

General Mr. S. Kitsak 14.9.92 v.

CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMISSION: Colonel Dymar

MEMBERS OF THE COMMISSION: Lieutenant Colonel Zheltoukhov Major Sedov Lieutenant Colonel Gulyaev
Colonel Kalinin Colonel Rogovsky Lieutenant Colonel Ekhlakov Lieutenant Colonel Shlykov

Appendix No. 1 List No. 1 of small arms and military devices captured by the paramilitary
formations of the PMR in formations and units of the 14th Guards. army between November 1991
and August 1992

Quantity

TOTAL weapons units Including:

545 MAXA | 5.45 im AKS-74U

"7/7

Machine guns of them: 10951 5.45 mm AK-74 7075

9 - 9890

Name of weapons

54mm AKN | 1.62 mm AKM

Pistols 2365

OF THEM:

5.45 mm PSM 4

762 mm E p

7.62 mm PSS ar [mm 2018 NSh

9 mm aps pp

26 mm SPSh r

of them: 5.45 mm RPK 258

grenade launchers

FROM THEM: 30 mm AGS-17

40 mm RPG—7 | YummRG-V OOS O

128 OF THEM: 7.62 mm SVD 85

7.62 mm SVD H2

7.62 mm rifle model 91/30 in

7.62 mm SKS

O

Quantity

Anti-aircraft artillery

OF THEM: 14.5 mm ZPU-2

14.5 mm ZPU-4

23 mm 3U-23-2

82 mm BM-37

Ha Binoculars 56x30 | Binoculars 630 — | BB | | Bzhy [| Binoculars BN | Binocular BN2 pH ns |
___RangefinderLPR GONI n n nn nn N u

Ground artillery 7 OF THEM:

=)

panorama of PG-1 from K-I

Compasses measuring field

Chordogoniometer

Head of the Rocket and Artillery Service of the 14th Guards. OA of the Guard Lieutenant Colonel S. Zheltoukhov

Appendix No. 2 List No. 2 of ammunition captured by paramilitary formations of the PMR in formations and units of the 14th Guards. OA between November 1991 and August 1992

|| sea [mi p

545 ammo spu PS | 646 | 2 | 545 mi ammo sleep | 4950] [| 545 mi ammo hoostys | 301480 1 [4 ___5mm screw chucks |
000 |] [5 | 162 mmbr.43 gcartridgespuhy US | 1680 | ___ [6 | 762 mmbr. 43 g bullet cartridges ý45 Ohm | T | 160 mm
mod.43 gcartridges with bullets [| 58] [8 | 76 mmbr.43 g PSVYUB spool cartridges | 900 | [9 | 7.62 im arr. 43 g PSBOB
spool cartridges___ | 5000 | _ [yu | 762 mm rifle cartridges with bullet LPS BOB | 1776801] [and | 7.62 mm rifle cartridges
with bullet 16 | 6040 | ___

5

“> ý > ýý <>

| 127 mm bullet cartridges ma | 3630 -

“> <> m

21

r r — tib vicha | rea yÿ o — < y { | ma

co L

n _ 165 mm cartridges with bullet t | 3399 -

25 _ Hand grenades defensive 4 [| 20 [from 26 | _ Grammy manual offensive WG | 700 | 2 _ Offensive hand grenades
RGD:5 | 36560 | _ [28 | Anti-tank hand grenades KGZEM | 158 | _ 29 | _ 30mm grenade shot VOGIM | 5886 |

= = Ke 12) 'o

23

yÿ EE

<

=

73 mm grenade launcher round with PG-9 anti-tank grenade

1968 73 mm grenade round with OG-9 fragmentation grenade 300 RPG-18 rocket-propelled anti-tank grenade | 554
Rocket-propelled anti-tank grenade RLG-26 2228 65

30 mm shot to 2A42 with OT projectile 30 mm shot to 2A42 with BT projectile 2 5400 —

n

SHN

SHN

7 \$2 mm mortar round for BM-37 with 30 820 EX fragmentation mine

SHSH

4

> | > (22 [ÿÿ r m mm | y 6—2 { | M o oo | ys [lr - yÿ

82 mm mortar round for BM-37 with mine 390 illuminating 2

120 mm mortar round for PM-38 with illuminating mine

248

o 5 E Z E = =, and E }

85 mm art. shot to BS-3 with a fragmentation projectile

[_ 85 mi art. shot to the D-44 with a cumulative projectile | 40 |

100 mm art. shot to PD-44 with projectile 6 · 830 ronsboy

100 mm art. shot to MT-12 with a high-explosive fragmentation projectile | 446 | 100 mm art. shot to MT-12 with shell 1588

cumulative

122 mm art. shot to the D-30 with a high-explosive fragmentation projectile

> E E = E = E 1

62 63

122 mm art. shot to the D-30 with a projectile with 738 ready-to-kill elements 122 mm art. shot to the D-30 with a cumulative projectile

PEK 80 125 mm art. shot to the D-81 with a high-explosive fragmentation projectile

125 mm art. shot to the D-81 with a cumulative projectile

125 mm art. shot to the D-81 with an armor-piercing projectile - sub-caliber

| 68 | 30 mm red fire flare cartridge 7374 aaa 30 mm green fire flare cartridge o | |

70 30 mm red smoke reactive flare cartridge day 24 extended range

[72 | 4 ohm Reactive Oscillating Cartridge | 26 |

7 50 mm remote-action 1844 reactive illuminator

Head of the Rocket and Artillery Service of the 14th Guards. OA

Guard Lieutenant Colonel S. Zheltoukhov

Appendix No. 3 Statement No. 3 of armored vehicles captured by paramilitary units of the PMR in formations and units of the 14th Guards. OA in the period from November 1991 to August 1992. Sample numbers

U12 ET 11073; U12 ET 11078

HOZET 21066; HOZ ET 18032 X08 ET 18027; X08 ET 18024 HO ET 18036; X08 ET 18037 WANTS 17136; X05 ET 17025 Tanks T-646V X07 ET 17127; IP ET 15019 XO? ET 17111; IIO ET 14124

X07 ET 17107; HOZ ET 18028 X07 ET 17119; X07 ET 17114 X05 ET 17056

CO9 ZhT 4439 FI ZhT 3190

| No. | BTVT brand Sample numbers

U09 RT 1668 F09 LT 3705; F09 LT 3751 F08 LT 3646; F08 LT 5800 F09 LT 5817; F09 LT 5773 F09 LT 5797; F08 LT 3709 F09 LT 5762; F09 LT 5777 F09 LT 5782; F09 LT 5792 Full name LT 1356; FIOLT 1360 FIO LT 1358; FIO LT 1355 FIOLT 1313; \$09 Lt 5823 Full name Lt 1362; FIOLT 1333 FIOLT 1342; F08 LT 3697 F08 LT 3597; F08 LT 5840 F09 LT 5807; F09 LT 5769 KIO LT 6438; Name LT 9054 Name LT 9036; FIO RT 9042 FIO RT 9052; F09 LT 5835 FII RT 0404; FIORT 9050 FIORT 9051; FIOLT 1361 KO4 LT 1898; Ya09 LT 2302 F06 LT 0165; F09 LT 5806 F09 LT 5838

[7 | Beck | 1 IP UT 8103 8 | BM2 | 2 | Silta209; syult 36 tMAYU O

Senior officer of the armored service of the 14th Guards. OA Guard Major E. Sedov

Appendix No. 4 Statement No. 4 of automotive equipment captured by paramilitary formations of the PMR in formations and units of the 14th Guards. OA between November 1991 and August 1992

[No. | ___ Brand machines - - Number of r Zabey [about ZIL-130 cargo

No. | ___ Machine brand — | Kmmetyu | Note | Yuyu 1 Yuyu 5 |___URAL320troooy | 6 6 | hooray ryu | 7 |___URAL375uoy | 6 ___KrAZ:255pruyuoy | T

SO 000

8

[9 | ___Kam3-5511 dump truck [0 | _Kama3:5320cargo_] ri | ___KAMA34310truck -

| TOTAL: 53 (fifty three) PI units

Head of the Automobile Service of the 14th Guards. OA Lieutenant Colonel V. Gulyaev

I agree with the statement. The data corresponds to the account.

Head of the Automobile Service of the Ministry of Defense of the PMR, Colonel V. Polyansky

Annex No. 5 Statement No. 5 of engineering equipment captured by paramilitary formations of the PMR in formations and units of the 14th Guards. OA between November 1991 and August 1992

Note quantity

UO 8TT 3408; IO 8TT 6330 IO 9TT 6331: IO 8TT 6329

› | 3 mz | 5 TO 6SHT 1878; TO 6pcs 1877; VO 2ShT 8153: guard VO 2ShT 8513; YAO 7SHT 5813

ZI 11PCS 8177: ZI 12PCS 3888; SO 6SHT 3818;

3 | Minelayer GM3-3 | 7 | ZI12SHT 3885; ZX 11PCS 8176; ZI 12PCS 3886;

ZX 11PCS 8179

[No. | Markatehnikn | Qty | factory us | RO IGTOZP; RO PT 0312 BO 4GT 4882; LO 9GT 0469 RO IRT 0314; MO HRT 0775

IO 7VT 5739; IO 7VT 5738 5 Machine IMR-2 5 IO 6VT 0755; XO 6VT 1334 IO 7VT 5734 Power plant

Workshop APRIM ý 019834 in Workshop MRIV 2 494657; 308288

AND ABOUT. head of the engineering service of the 14th Guards. OA

Guard Colonel N. Kalinin

Appendix No. 6 Statement No. 6 of communications equipment captured by paramilitary formations of the PMR in formations and units of the 14th Guards. OA between November 1991 and August 1992

a) mobile devices

1 |_RAM5BM(BTR-60p) Yumaa LLC] 2 | momo [ko [mA oo A PO EO PO ZO OI th || m5 | 6 | EzolGava 1 jur | meme) rv software | TOAST OO vr 9 | Pod (A36) ohm

TOTAL: N

SW SW: f SW 2 SW. ABOUT POZE LLC mr PO OO PO O ZSZ PO

c) field cable, reels, telephone sets, com ry, special equipment

pcs108 _

:

#4 5

e, >

And about. chief of the communications troops of the 14th guards. Lieutenant Colonel S. Yekhlakov

Annex No. 7 Statement No. 7 of the equipment of chemical troops captured by the armed formations of the PMR in formations and units of the 14th Guards. OA between November 1991 and August 1992

[#_] Machine brand | Quantity |. Factory number. | Note. CM 131; 85 TM 177; 85 UM 40198; SL 20150; SL 20125; SL 20128

SUTTI RTI

Head of the chemical service of the 14th Guards. OA Guards Colonel S. Rogovsky

Application No. 8

Statement No. 8 of fuel service equipment captured in formations and units of the 14th Guards. OA by paramilitary formations of the PMR in the period from December 1, 1991 to September 3, 1992

Name of equipment Quantity 5 3

| shos om sho 22240 I O "OI OE OI PO" 3 OI

Head of the Fuel Service of the Military Unit 13962 of the Guard Lieutenant Colonel N. Shlykov

Annex 5 AGREEMENT

on the principles of peaceful settlement of the armed conflict in the Transnistrian region of the Republic of Moldova

The Russian Federation and the Republic of Moldova, striving for an early and complete ceasefire and peaceful settlement of the armed conflict in the Transnistrian regions:

reaffirming commitment to the principles of the UN Charter and the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe;

Welcoming the fundamental understanding reached on July 21, 1992 between the President of the Russian Federation and the President of the Republic of Moldova, agreed on the following:

Article 1

From the moment of signing the Agreement, the conflicting parties undertake to take all necessary measures for a complete ceasefire, as well as any armed actions against each other.

With the ceasefire, the conflicting parties begin to withdraw parts of their armed forces and other formations, military equipment and weapons, and complete this process within seven days. The purpose of this separation is to create a safety zone

between the parties to the conflict. The specific coordinates of the zone will be determined by a special protocol of the parties involved in the implementation of this Agreement.

Article 2

In order to ensure control over the implementation of the measures specified in article 1, as well as to ensure the security regime in the said zone, a joint Control Commission is established, consisting of representatives of the three parties participating in the settlement. The Commission uses in its work the groups of military observers created in accordance with all previous agreements, including quadripartite ones. The Control Commission proceeds to fulfill the tasks entrusted to it by this Agreement within seven days from the date of signing the Agreement.

Each of the parties participating in the work of the commission appoints its representatives to its composition. The seat of the Control Commission is the city of Bendery.

In order to implement the above measures, military contingents created on a voluntary basis, representing the parties participating in the implementation of this Agreement, are subordinated to the Control Commission. The deployment of these contingents and their use to ensure the ceasefire and security in the conflict zone is carried out in accordance with the decisions of the Control Commission on the basis of consensus. Number of members, status, conditions

entry into the conflict zone and withdrawal from it of military contingents are determined by a separate protocol.

In case of violation of the terms of this Agreement, the Control Commission investigates its circumstances and urgently takes appropriate measures to restore peace and law and order, as well as to prevent such violations in the future.

The activities of the Control Commission and the forces attached to it are financed by all parties on a shared basis.

Article 3

The city of Bender, as the seat of the Control Commission and due to the particular complexity of the situation, is declared an area with a high security regime, which is provided by the military contingents of the parties involved in the implementation of this Agreement.

The Control Commission ensures the maintenance of law and order in the city of Bender in cooperation with police and militia units of a limited composition.

Administrative and economic activities in the city of Bender are carried out by the existing bodies of city self-government, if necessary, together with the Control Commission.

Article 4

The units of the 14th Army of the Armed Forces of the Russian Federation stationed in the Republic of Moldova will strictly observe neutrality. Both sides are in conflict

they undertake to respect neutrality and refrain from any unlawful actions against military property, military personnel of this army and members of their families.

Questions about the status of the army, the procedure and timing of its phased withdrawal will be determined in the course of negotiations between the Russian Federation and the Republic of Moldova.

Article 5

The conflicting parties consider unacceptable the use of any sanctions and blockades. In this context, any obstacles to the movement of goods, services and people will be immediately removed, and appropriate steps will be taken to lift the state of emergency on the territory of the Republic of Moldova.

The parties to the conflict will immediately begin negotiations on the settlement of issues related to the return of refugees to their places of permanent residence, assistance to the population of the affected areas and the restoration of economic and residential facilities. The Russian Federation will provide the necessary assistance in this.

The conflicting parties will take all measures for the unhindered admission of international humanitarian aid to the settlement zone.

Article 6

In order to disseminate objective information about the situation in the settlement zone, the parties set up a joint press center under the Control Commission.

"1

Article 7

The parties proceed from the fact that the measures envisaged by this agreement are an important component of the process of resolving the conflict by peaceful, political means.

Article 8

This Agreement shall enter into force upon signing.

The operation of this Agreement shall be terminated by agreement of the parties or in the event of withdrawal from it by one of the contracting parties, which entails the termination of the activities of the Control Commission and the military contingents attached to it.

Done in Moscow on July 21, 1992 in duplicate, each in the Russian and Moldavian languages, both texts being equally authentic.

For the Russian Federation For the Republic of Moldova B. Yeltsin M. Snegur

07/21/1992

Appendix 6

AGREEMENT between the Government of the Russian Federation and the Government of the Republic of Moldova on the mutual transfer of weapons, military equipment and military-technical property

(Kishinev/Moscow, December 21-29, 1993)

The Government of the Russian Federation and the Government of the Republic of Moldova, hereinafter referred to as the Parties, have agreed as follows:

Article 1

The Parties mutually transfer weapons, military equipment and military-technical property necessary for the Armed Forces of the Russian Federation and the Armed Forces of the Republic

Moldova, in accordance with annexes 1 and 2, which are an integral part of this Agreement, no later than four months after its entry into force.

Article 2

Transferred weapons, military equipment (manufactured no earlier than 1985, with a mileage of no more than 10,000 km) and military equipment must be technically sound, have individual and group sets of spare parts and accessories, technical and operational documentation.

“23

Transferred weapons, military equipment and military-technical property are exempt from obtaining export permits, customs duties and other fees.

Article 3

The Parties shall ensure the transportation of weapons, military equipment and military-technical property sent from their territories by rolling stock, loading devices and devices, removable military equipment and fastening materials.

The management of the transportation of the said equipment and property on the territory of Moldova and Russia is carried out by the military transport authorities of the ministries of defense of the republics in accordance with the regulations governing military transportation in these states.

Article 4

The protection and escort of military vehicles when moving by rail is carried out by military guards sent in the prescribed manner. At the same time, the Russian Side ensures the allocation of guards for the export of weapons, military equipment and military technical equipment from Moldova to Russia, and the Moldovan Side - from Russia to Moldova.

The personnel of the guards when solving issues related to the logistics and rules of travel on railways along the route

horns, is guided by the instructions of representatives of the military transport authorities of the state through whose territory transportation is carried out.

Regarding the organization and performance of internal and guard service and the observance of personal security measures, the personnel of the military guards are guided by the requirements established for their armed forces.

Article 5

The costs associated with the transportation of weapons, military equipment and military equipment by rail by the Ministries of Defense of the Russian Federation and the Republic of Moldova are paid by the Russian Party.

The Moldovan Party ensures free use of airfields on the territory of the Republic of Moldova by aircraft of the military transport aviation of the Russian Federation and pays for excessive downtime of railway transport on its territory, which occurred through the fault of the Moldovan Party.

Article 6

In order to implement this Agreement, as well as to resolve disputes, the Parties create a mixed commission of six people (three people from each

Parties). The Commission is given the right to invite as experts the required number of specialists from each Party.

“257

The costs associated with ensuring the work of a mixed commission shall be borne by the party on whose territory the commission operates.

Article 7

This Agreement enters into force from the date of its signing and will be valid until the date of signing the acceptance certificate.

Done at Chisinau / Moscow on December 21/29, 1993 in duplicate, each in Russian and Moldavian, both texts bearing the same

strength. For the Government For the Government of the Russian Federation of the Republic of Moldova / signature // signature /

Appendix 1 to the Agreement between the Government of the Russian Federation and the Government of the Republic of Moldova on the mutual transfer of weapons, military equipment and military-technical property

List of weapons, military equipment and documentation transferred to the Russian Federation

Launchers of the 9P129-1M installation in the complex

Transport-loading vehicles 97218-1M included

Machine AKIM 98819-1M vumshsts [O Machine MTO 98844 complete with n

Technical documentation and documentation for the use of the 70 rocket complex 9K79-1

Historical Missile Brigma Form |

Appendix 2 to the Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Moldova and the Government of the Russian Federation on the mutual transfer of weapons, military equipment and military-technical property

List of military equipment and military-technical property transferred to the Republic of Moldova

___Automobile “ry ___ Automobile “ura” 1a C Metkostanshi mka mv pp Vukoli PAYA r GOE Ol in v ONR I

2 Range finders 1D]1 50 Binoculars B7 x 30 50 Binoculars B\$ x 30 15 Binoculars BIZ x 30 15

Binoculars B12 x 50 and p

Car tires after freshening 14.00 x 20 150

"P

| Car tires after refreshment 12.00 x 20 [m [Car tires after refreshment 12.00 x 18 [m] [Repair kits No. 2 for GAZ-66 cars | | Repair kit No. 3 for GAZ vehicles |

Avtomobilnos property in bulk for a total amount. For GAZ-66, ZIL-131 cars - 2.5 million rubles (in prices as of | January 1993)

BTR-70 engines (4905-1000390) 5

BTR-60PB engines (49B-1000400-11) BTR-60Pb engines (496-1000401-11) 5 BRDM-2 engines

Annex 7

BEGILED GARRISONS

"So, I'm writing down: azimuth fifty-one, range thirty, height one thousand, speed ..." Colonel G. Dobryansky echoed into the phone. And drops not quite statutory. - Bey!

A dozen or two seconds - the battery commander reports: an explosion at an altitude of three thousand, the target split into two on the screen, it can be assumed that it was destroyed.

What does "guess" mean? Destroyed or not? — In the voice of the air defense chief of the 14th Army, it turns out, there is also irritation. Although why get annoyed: because of the cloudiness, the results of the missile launch are not visually visible. Apparently, the target breaking through to the oil depot in the Blizniy Khutor area is the most modern MiG-29. Needless to say, a good "gift" was received by the Moldovan side as a result of the "privatization" of the previously unified army; now Pridnestrovie is being bombed, and the 14th Army can get it ... But even if the plane was destroyed, but crashed outside the Left Bank, again try to prove to the battery commander, Colonel Dobryansky, that he launched a rocket not into the white light, like a pretty penny !

The buzzer on the commander's phone, and Dobryansky had to explain that it was cloudy, that superplanes were operating "from there"...

Another battery CP got in touch:

- Azimuth eleven...

Everything repeats itself, like yesterday, the day before yesterday. In the morning there were single breakthroughs of fighters capable of carrying bombs and missiles. At night, however, there was a "massive raid" on Tiraspol and Bendery, as the radars recorded, — several dozen targets at once, judging by the low speed, helicopters. Dobryansky, however, figured out the trick, did not fire a single rocket: the enemy launched corner reflectors on balloons. By the way, from the territory of Ukraine. Later it turns out that the Romanian An-24, which allegedly flew there by mistake, was driven out of the Ukrainian sky by local interceptors, but managed to release decoys, and the east wind drove them exactly to Tiraspol. This morning, the detected radiosondes were delivered to the army air defense command post. So it's not an easy adversary, oh, it's not easy, and be smart, Dobryansky, how to be, how to protect the inhabitants of Transnistria, the garrisons of the 14th from the next bombing!

- Azimuth forty-seven...

Looks like the enemy's main task is to blow up the oil depot at Blizniy Khutor. Thus, deprive the entire Left Bank and the army of fuel, cause fires in Tiraspol, panic among its inhabitants. But Bendery, Parkany are also being targeted again, as well as other settlements. Is it by chance exactly the ones where the Russian garrisons are stationed? This is also why such an unambiguous order from Dobryansky to his subordinates: shoot down!

From Chisinau they reported that a combat helicopter landed with difficulty at the local airfield - from forty

two holes, the crew was rushed to the hospital. They say that the antenna, which was delivered to the headquarters of the 14th from the "other side", still belongs to the downed MiG-29. They say... But Dobryansky does not have "100%" proof of successful combat work. Although an indirect

There certainly is, and it is perhaps the main thing: during these few days, when the air defense of the army was operating, there were no bombings of Pridnestrovie, not a single target broke through to the object.

- For the sixth day people do not sleep. Allow me to organize the rest in shifts? - distributed in the tube.

- Maybe I should command from here when your subordinates and take food? - Dobryansky loses his temper again. Who knows when he last closed his eyes himself? But he spares his management officers. Despite the fact that here, at the air defense command post, telephone buzzers, reports, commands do not stop.

... I notice that in other departments, the services of the army headquarters, the radio station is no-no, and they will tune in to the "Dobryansky frequency": everyone in the besieged garrison has great tension, but in fact only air defense is operating.

In the noisy campaign from Chisinau about the "occupying 14th Army" there is no answer to the question: who forced this army to prepare for a real battle? And, say, its air defense units to use missiles?

Maybe it was not the Moldovan side that sent saboteurs to the area of the Tiraspol airfield - Ensign Yu. Babkin died in the battle while guarding the aircraft parking? Maybe the wrong side fired on the car and wounded the major

V. Kozlov, who tried to escape from the unit? Maybe it was not in the besieged Bendery fortress that Senior Ensign N. Gaitsev was wounded? Being in those days after June 19 in units and subunits of the army, the author of these lines witnessed more and more such reports almost hourly: private Krivoruchko was wounded by fragments of a mine in the barracks of the chemical protection battalion, in the same place, in the dining room, private Klepikov, in Private Kuznetsov of the pontoon-bridge regiment was wounded in the Tiraspol garrison, Ensign Prikhodchenko and Private Korostylev were taken hostage in Bendery... This list can be doubled, tripled. One gets the impression that the Moldovan side more than persistently provoked the 14th Army into retaliatory actions. So far failed. But the nerves are really on edge. I don't know what the self-control of the commanders of units and subunits should be, so that, seeing how shells and mines fall on your head and the heads of your subordinates, heed not the call of emotions, but the voice of reason: to get involved, by and large, in a fire duel with Moldavian army would mean to kindle a fire for the whole of Europe. That is why they kept sacred the order of neutrality. I don't know what restraint you need to have, so that, not knowing what happened to your family after the bloody battle perpetrated by the Moldavian army in Bendery, after the raid of its aviation on the Tiraspol bridge, to meekly fulfill your duties of "bringing" to the official - Tserov and soldiers of the garrison of demands for bewilderment of response. He does not know, but brings, say, to

lieutenant colonel N. Strus, assistant commander of the unit for work with personnel.

True, someone gave the officer hope, saw his family allegedly among the refugees, but maybe it just reassures? And if the lieutenant colonel decided on something, it was only on a request to the command: to cancel the order that had already taken place on his appointment outside Pridnestrovie. Now he does not see for himself another place of service, a place of struggle against evil...

So is the 14th Army involved in the fighting? After returning from Tiraspol, I learned from Komsomolskaya Pravda that it was not true that air defense was hitting Moldovan aircraft. I would have believed it if I hadn't spent half a day at the Dobryansky command post, not seeing rocket launches near Parkan. Why "hide your head in the sand" - wouldn't it be better to say that the 14th cannot but hit the planes that bring death?

The army is involved, because the wounded must be saved, and therefore the military hospital accepts not only military personnel. The former chief medical officer of the hospital, Lieutenant Colonel of the Medical Service V. Pomerantsevsky, who never left his post after the order to dismiss him, tiredly explained to me the statistics of those admitted for treatment after the battles: yes, only eight of the army units, and another thirty guardsmen, twenty-four Kazakhs ka, twenty-seven militiamen. Another thread

the wounded walked through the city hospital - and to say that there were no wounded military personnel in that stream, the officer did not dare: who in the war divides the victims into "his own" and "chu living"?..

The army is involved, because saboteurs are equally dangerous for city blocks and for garrisons - that's why the military commandant's office is on the alert.

The army assisted in the evacuation of the inhabitants after the genocide organized by the Moldavian invaders in Bendery, provided transport. For those who remained in the city, she allocated camp kitchens - hunger threatened the Benders.

On the twentieth of June, the army strained its forces in order to quickly remove the ammunition depots from the Tiraspol garrison to a safer place - the Tiraspol residents did not know what trouble threatened them if at least one plane from Chisinau reached this warehouse. The headquarters of the 14th was aware of this danger, and, by the way, it was also because of this that it was decided to fire on air targets ...

They say, they write that some officers of the 14th allegedly participated in the hostilities in July on the side of the Pridnestrovians. All my attempts to find out have ended in vain. Who can say, even if he participated: there was an order to maintain neutrality! It was rumored that in a wrecked, utterly mangled and now heavily sagging tank near the Bendery bridge there was a regular crew from the 59th division. It turned out that the guardsmen were driving a car that was seized along with eight other combat vehicles on June 20 by women who surrounded the 175th motorized rifle regiment in a picket of thousands and broke into the territory of its park ...

They say that it was the artillery of the 59th division that placed barrage fire in front of those hurrying to Bendery.

columns of the Moldavian army. But the defenders of Transnistria — the guards, the Cossacks — have their own artillery.

Finally, they say and even write that the command staff of the formations of the guards, the militia is good only because on the eve and during the battles themselves, almost "by order from Moscow", many officers were hastily dismissed from the 14th. For example, the names of N. Moskoglo and V. Kapitana were mentioned. I found out that these sapper officers had been retired long ago and served in the fire department for a long time. Both died in June. Pridnestrovians called them "their heroes", and who knows about the attitude of most of the local residents to the 14th Army, he will understand what's what ...

The neutrality of the 14th was perceived unequivocally here: as a betrayal of the civilian population.

That picketing of the 59th division continued for a long time even after the capture of eight tanks. One should have seen even if not thousands of women on their knees - at least one, with an icon, begging: "Soldier, protect!" In a mournfully tied headscarf, in glasses - and an hour, and another, and the fifth she stood on her knees, and from the direction of Bender, cannonade was still heard ...

There is, apparently, the truth in the fact that there could have been much fewer victims in Bendery if you had received the 14th order to stop the bloodshed.

She didn't get it - it's not her fault, but without an order to drag Russia into a large-scale war - it's no longer an army, but an anarchist freemen. In pro

than, this is already from the field of "big politics". I intend to write about what I saw myself on this piece of land — in the besieged Transnistria, in the besieged garrisons of the Russian army.

The only thing I can't agree with in any way is with other publications in Russian newspapers, TV programs of recent days: the same allusions to the "complete inactivity of the 14th", then,

on the contrary, on the "excessive independence" of its new commander, Major General A. Lebed.

The point, as I imagine, is something else: in the changing situation around the garrisons besieged here.

Vladimir Zhitarenko "Red Star", 1995. S. 19-23.

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Popular science edition

Military secrets of the twentieth century

Kozlov Andrey Valerievich Chernobriv Vyacheslav Nikolaevich

UNCONQUERED TRANSNISTRIUM Lessons from the military conflict

Managing editor K.K. Semenov Proofreader O.V. Sergeeva Layout I.V. Levchenko Art design M.G. Khabibullov

LLC Publishing House Veche

Actual location address: 127566, Moscow, Altufevskoe highway, 48, building 1. Tel.: (499) 940-48-70 (fax: ext. 2213), (499) 940-48-71.

Postal address: 129337, Moscow, PO box 63.

Legal address: 129110, Moscow, st. Gilyarovsky, house 47, building 5.

E-ta!: uesye@uesyye.gi yer://uugu.uesye.gi Signed in pschat 11/25/2014. Format 84x108 mm.

Headset "Raefigr S". Office printing. The paper is gassy. Pech. I. 9. Circulation 2000 copies. Order No. 9890.

Printed at LLC "Tula Printing House" 300600, Tula, Lenin Ave., 109.

78-5-444

44142

4-2656-2 PPI vda 6562